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MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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on Weizsäcker — SCIENCE AND CONSCIENCE AFTER SPUTNIK

rold A. Bosley — THE CHRISTIAN ALTERNATIVE TO ANNIHILATION

Paul Johnson — THE FALLACY OF THE DETERRENT

orman S. Cohn — BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF RADIATION

Fellowship

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

KNOWN

he nation—or certain uniformed and ian representatives of same—went ugh one of its symbolic genuflections ard the gods of war again on Memorial when two "unknown soldiers" were to a highly publicized rest in Arling- National Cemetery. The soldiers, own but to God," came from the bat- elds of the Second World War and the ean "police action." They lie, now that buglers and the firing squad and the kers have had their way with them, in same tomb with the Unknown from First World War, a bitter triple testi- y to the failure of the leaders of men nd ways to live together without war.

is not true that the pitiful remains de- ted in the flag-draped mausoleum at ngton are "known but to God." They not be specifically identified, but they known and have been known, agoniz- y, by the mothers and fathers who lav- d so much love and hope on their ig lives, and who remembered so vivid- when the terrible word came, all the ious little moments now so dreadfully ed. Known, too, perhaps, by two young s, perhaps by children, for whom the h ceremony could be only a reminder omes suddenly and irreparably torn t.

erhaps there should be a new ceremony , honoring victims of war truly known to God. For now, every day, we wage ntless war against the children of this future generations, millions of whom, scientists tell us, already have been ned by the deadliness of radioactive ut from the bomb tests. Even more the quiet sadness of the two caskets rlington, such a service would remind f what we need to be reminded: that e are our victims, murdered by our re to solve the problem of war, and ur unwillingness to live such lives as ld take away the occasion for war.

PEDESTRIANS

The "walk for peace" idea is catching hold to such an extent that we may expect the auto manufacturers soon to start blaming the pedestrian pacifists for their huge unsold stocks of cars. Some observers claim that the effectiveness of the walks grows out of the shock most people feel at seeing any Americans walk farther than from the front door to the garage.

Most encouraging development is the spontaneous "little walks" in communities across the country, which actually turn into the most direct possible contact with individuals. A young mother who took part in a 7-person walk through the village of Spring Valley, N. Y., the day before Memorial Day, reported happily on the number of people who greeted them sympathetically, and on the hundreds of leaflets distributed.

GOLDEN RULE

Barring miracles after we go to press, the voyage of the *Golden Rule* came to an end early last month. By the time this issue of FELLOWSHIP is published, the men who manned the little craft will have served almost half their 60-day sentences in jail and the ship itself may have been sold to pay the remaining bills of the venture.

There is no reason to be gloomy about the ending of the voyage thousands of miles from its intended destination. It did what it was supposed to do; it spoke to the consciences of millions of people all through the world, reminding them that men are not mindless pawns in a great, impersonal chess game, but beings who can help to shape their own destinies by their courage and faith.

Even the ending of the voyage was dramatic. Four men, having announced on June 1 their intention of sailing again despite the government's injunction against such action, found police waiting for them when they tried to board the boat at noon.

Skipper Bert Bigelow was arrested and jailed for a later hearing, but the three others were still free to meet First Mate Bill Huntington, returning from the mainland, at the airport later that afternoon. Apprised of developments, Bill said mildly, "What are we waiting for?" and the four of them took off again, catching the authorities flat-footed.

Two Coast Guard cutters overtook the little boat five miles out, and two days later all the men were in jail, but if ever there was a moral victory, that was it.

Now, every Wednesday afternoon between four and five, a double line of Honolulu pacifists parades slowly around the Federal Building in that city with signs reminding the onlookers that the jailing of five men has not resolved the moral problem posed by the continued pouring of radioactive poison into the atmosphere.

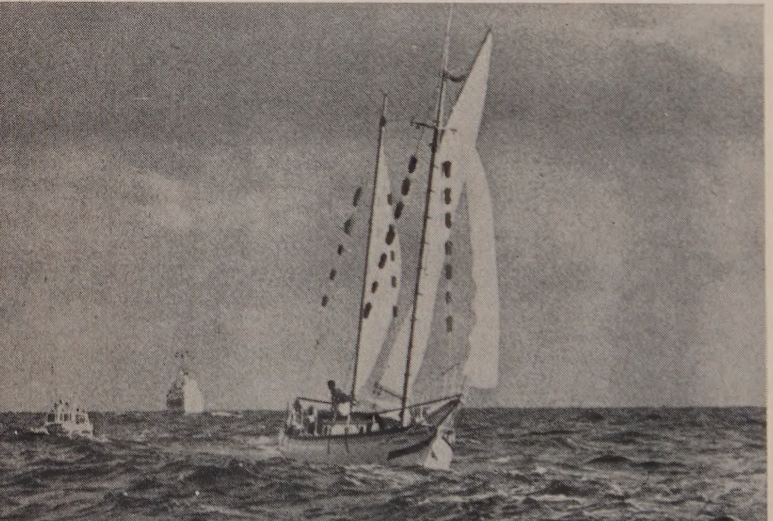
WAY OF LIFE

Sixty-six faculty members at Louisiana State University signed a petition to the legislature of that state protesting bills that would close public schools threatened by racial integration. The legislators, understandably upset, summoned L.S.U.'s president, Gen. Troy H. Middleton, to tell th what kind of termites had got into heretofore solid structure of the sta educational system.

Gen. Middleton, reports the Associa Press, reassured them. "To my knowledg he said, "no member of the L.S.U. facu is teaching integration." Then, want them to be sure of his institution's pur he added, "I know of no teaching or p losophy at L.S.U. that would underm our way of life." The legislators applau and passed eight bills authorizing the g ernor to close any public school facing in gration.

STEPS

Writing about the segregation-integrat stuff brings to mind the meeting held 38 Northern and Southern leaders in J uary to discuss means of solving the r relations "crisis." The session was sponso by Freedom House and held in secrecy, announcement about it was not made til three months later, and three of Southern participants withheld their na from the report "lest their positions misunderstood." The report itself agr on the desirability of two steps: the



The **Golden Rule,** miles at sea, is o hauled by pursuing C Guard boats on Jun in its last attempt sail to the nuclear t ing area. Eight days l another ketch, the **Ph nix of Hiroshima,** man by Earle Reynolds his family, sailed un lested from Hawaii the same errand. Ph Wide World.

ding of a "bridge of communications" veen whites and Negroes, and the res- tion of "moderate citizens to the cen- of the stage."

o one who has not himself been ugh the fire can afford to be smug, but observation may be made with cer- ty. Neither the rebuilding of bridges communication nor the restoration of lerate citizens to influence will ever be mplished by men who require anonym- in endorsing such modest hopes. The ger that confronts the unnamed three ot that their position will be misunder- d, but that it is understood all too well.

EEDOM

ther stalwarts are equally busy seeing our way of life is not tampered with people who probably ought to go back re they should have come from. The erican Friends Service Committee re- s a letter from a schoolgirl asking for return of a petition she had sent in, ing the end of nuclear tests.

This morning," she wrote, "I was called the headmaster's office and was told a petition in school was not allowed that the teachers who signed the peti- might be called before the school rd. He knew the names of the teachers had signed it and felt the petition ld be destroyed. After this the teachers had signed the petition asked me to their names off. Even though they ed with the petition they felt that it ld prejudice their futures."

nd in Hanover, New Jersey, a 26-year- high school English teacher was in immi- t danger of losing her job because some er students wrote their disapproval of bombing of Hiroshima. Miss Le Moyne dman encouraged the students to read n Hersey's *Hiroshima* and write essays ut it. Three of them, all expressing the that the United States made a mis- in dropping the bomb on the Japanese were published in the school news- er, and the panic was on. Veterans' ps, led by the American Legion, de- ed the essays as "disrespectful to every l American," and when the school rd met to discuss the matter of Miss dman's resignation, most of the 175 persons attending were Legion members.

Interestingly enough, the students are in lofty company. Just last March Dr. Edward Teller, who frequently gets described as the "father of the H-bomb," told a Cleveland audience that it had been a mistake to use the A-bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

GOLDEN BOOK

There is a series of children's books called the Golden Books, but there is only one Golden book, and we recommend it to you heartily. It is *Only in America,** by Harry Golden, the editor of the *Carolina Israelite,* and if you haven't been reading the *Israelite* this will give you a chance to catch up on 183 of the best of the short pieces he has had in that unique periodical.

Golden is the originator of the three remarkable "plans" to solve the integration struggle in the South: the Golden Vertical Negro plan (take all the seats out of the schools), the Golden Out-of-Order Plan (whites don't mind using a common drinking fountain with Negroes if there is a white fountain out of order so long as the latter is visible), and the Golden Carry-the-Books Plan (Negro schoolboys would carry books for their white classmates and thus make everything all right). He writes on anything that captures his fancy, from ironic jibes at segregation to ruminations about two-for-a-nickel movies to stories of life on New York's East Side in the old days. We think maybe you'll get the flavor of the Golden approach if we reprint one of his stories in its entirety. This is called "The Downtown Luncheon Club is more exclusive than heaven":

> "I am puzzled by the letters and pamphlets I receive from Christian and Christian-Hebrew mission groups urging me to become a convert. I am also puzzled by the vast sums of money appropriated by many church organizations for the purpose of carrying on this mission work. The Downtown Luncheon Club I cannot join.
>
> "If they don't want me for one hour at the Luncheon Club, why should they seek my companionship in heaven through all eternity?"

* World Publishing Co., Cleveland, Ohio. 317 pp., $4.

NOTED IN PASSING

One of the "inventions wanted by the armed forces" (noted in a government-published pamphlet of that title) is a death ray "effective at 500 yards without excessive input." Sounds a little conservative!

* * *

The chapel at the Red Canyon Rocket Range near Carrizozo, New Mexico, has bells made from the cones of used Nike rocket boosters. This is not the same, unfortunately, as beating new and usable swords into plowshares.

* * *

Rep. Frances P. Bolton argues for the Mutual Security Program by pointing out how much cheaper foreign soldiers are than American when we are "purchasing security." It costs $6,600 to support an American soldier for a year, as against only $105 for a Turk, $117 for a Korean, or $142 for a Nationalist Chinese. And the nice thing is that they all love to defend their freedom and democracy at these bargain prices!

* * *

Admiral Arleigh A. Burke urged on the graduating class at Annapolis a revitalized faith in God to match the "biggest bang" of missile-age weapons. Faith, presumably, that God will see that our side *has* the biggest bang!

* * *

A new element has been introduced into the debate over nuclear weapons by Dr. William G. Pollard. Dr. Pollard, an atomic scientist who is executive director of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Physics, is also an Episcopal clergyman. *He* says the H-bombs are God-made, and it is "irreverent as well as fruitless to rebel against them."

* * *

On the other hand, former FOR member Norman Thomas, who left the pacifist position a good many years ago, recently made this interesting pronouncement:

"Russia could never impose on the U.S., or even upon Great Britain, a lasting communist dictatorship if a united people, opposed to communism, were willing to suffer a small part as much to defeat the rule of the conquerors by Gandhian or other methods as we would have to spend in war."

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Paul Johnson is a former captain in the British Army who is now a staff writer for the *New Statesman* (London), from which "The Fallacy of the Deterrent" is reprinted. Mr. Johnson is the author of *Journey into Chaos* and *The Suez War,* both published in England in the past year.

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C. F. von Weizsäcker is a professor of theoretical physics at the University of Hamburg. Last year, he and seventeen other German physicists issued a statement refusing "to take part in any way in the production, the testing or the use in warfare of atomic weapons." His article in this issue is an abridgment of *Ethical and Political Problems of the Atomic Age,* published in England as a 16-page pamphlet by Student Christian Movement Press Ltd. and used here by permission. The pamphlet is distributed in the United States by Allenson, Naperville, Illinois, and copies are available at 50¢ each from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

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Albert Schweitzer is a medical missionary at Lambaréné, French Equatorial Africa. A winner of the Nobel Prize, he holds doctorates in medicine, music, theology and philosophy. He was a pioneer in the revival of the music of J. S. Bach and is the author of a major study of his music, as well as a talented organist and expert on the baroque organ. He is the author of such books as *The Philosophy of Civilization, The Quest of the Historical Jesus* and *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle.* "Notes on the Nuclear Crisis" is copyright 1958 by Albert Schweitzer, and is excerpted by permission of the Albert Schweitzer Fellowship from a larger text which was published in the *Saturday Review.*

THE FALLACY OF THE DETERRENT

BY PAUL JOHNSON

OR THE POWER-HUNGRY, historicism has always had a particular fascination. rlemagne, Philip II, Napoleon, Hit- Stalin—they all, sooner or later, suc- bed to the temptation to mirror their s in the past. No public man is im- ne—and for a very simple reason. Poli- ns convince themselves that there is ecurring pattern in events because it lves them from the need to think. y have an instinctive fear of situa- s for which there is no historical par- l and for which, therefore, there is prototype solution. The idea that his- is a succession of unpredictable acci- ts, that they are guiding the ship of e into unknown and unknowable wa- is anathema to them. So, when a s occurs, they ransack history for a parable incident and study the solu- adopted by their predecessors. If it successful, they repeat it; if unsuc- ful, they do the opposite.

aturally, in the search for parallels, s, are ruthlessly suppressed. Arnold nbee is not alone in bending history it his theories. Politicians do it every The most recent example of the his- ist theory of politics at work—and customarily disastrous results—was hony Eden's comparison of Nasser with er. The western politico-military strate- f the deterrent is based on similar rea- ng, though in this case the usual com- tion of historical and logical fallacies r more complex. Briefly, the argument as follows: Both world wars occurred use the western democracies were mili- y weak. Had they armed themselves in , the enemy would have been deterred aggression and war would have been avoided. Ergo, to prevent a Third World War, we must arm ourselves to the teeth and negotiate from strength.

First, the myth that the First World War occurred because Britain was unprepared. This myth is a comparatively recent one. Until 1939, most people agreed that the First World War was caused by the arms race, and it was only when they were confronted, for a second time, with the phenomenon of a German conflict—and this time springing from manifestly different causes—that they became confused and began to draw false parallels. Then they remembered that there was a sizable pacifist movement in Britain before 1914; that it included more than half the Labor Party and a broad section of the Liberals; and that, until the Germans invaded Belgium, even the Cabinet opposed British intervention.

"Ocular Evidence"

Unfortunately, the memory of these public political attitudes gradually obscured the fact that Britain had been preparing for war for nearly a decade before 1914. A policy of no commitments might be the refrain of parliament, but in the Foreign Office, the Horse Guards and the Admiralty a totally different atmosphere prevailed. The turning point came in January 1907, when Sir Eyre Crowe, Assistant Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, presented his famous memorandum. In it, he evolved the theory of the deterrent in its purest form. For Britain, he argued, control of the seas was paramount. Any power which threatened this control was a mortal enemy. The rate of German naval construction constituted such a threat. This threat would

be withdrawn only if the Germans were convinced that Britain had the will to meet and vanquish it. And the only way to convince them was to provide, as he put it, "ocular evidence" of this will by building battleships at twice the German rate. The phrase "ocular evidence" is significant: it sums up the whole of the deterrent philosophy. For the first time, Crowe formulated the belief that the physical existence of retaliatory power would, in itself, curb the ambitions of aggressor states.

Grey, the Foreign Secretary, circulated Crowe's memorandum among the Cabinet. Its arguments sank deep into the basic thinking of British public men. Imperceptibly, its conclusions began to be accepted as gospel. The Foreign Office became a citadel of anti-German attitudes. Meanwhile, a huge war machine was brought to a state of readiness. Although it proved unnecessary to keep to the two-to-one Dreadnought construction program, a proportion of eight-to-five was maintained, and at the outbreak of war the Navy had a decisive superiority in capital ships in the crucial area of the North Sea. Not only, therefore, was the deterrent constructed: it was deliberately brandished. From the time that Winston Churchill went to the Admiralty—in 1911—he made it his object to bring the Navy to what he called "a state of instant and constant readiness." Here again, the phrase is significant: it is almost identical to the words used last November by the head of the U.S. Strategic Air Command to describe the preparations to meet the challenge of Soviet supremacy in the missile field.

Nor was the Navy alone in preparing for war. A few weeks after Crowe's memorandum was presented, the first Anglo-French army staff talks took place. Here, the leading spirit was General Sir Henry Wilson, who held the key post of Director of Military Operations at the War Office. Convinced that a war with Germany was inevitable, in which Britain would take the field on the left flank of the French army, he set about organizing an expeditionary force of 100,000 men—capable of expa sion to five times the size within fo months—which could be in action French or Belgian territory within 20 d of a declaration of war. So thorough w the preparations that, despite Americ vastly greater resources of manpower, t buildup of British forces in France duri the first six months after our entry into t war proceeded at six times the rate America's during the whole of 1917. He indeed, was the real statistical differe between a power which had prepared war and one which had not.

The Massive Deterrent

It has, of course, been argued that t deterrent policy failed simply because t deterrent was not "massive" enough. H here again, the theo will not bear exa ination of the fa During this peri the equations of m tary power were dra up on the assumpti that Germany a Austria would be p ted against Russia a France, with the possible addition of B tain. France and Russia began to constr a coordinated deterrent of vast size nea 20 years before the conflict. As early as 18 the peace establishments of the Fran Russian armies totaled 1,470,000 agai 950,000 for the central powers, giving Franco-Russian margin of 520,000. By 19 this margin had been increased to 802,0 and by 1914 to 1,000,000. Moreover, March 1914, Italy signed a military co vention with the allies, raising the mar by a further 273,000; and by this time was known that Britain was in a position make an immediate contribution of further 100,000. These were pre-mobil tion strengths. A comparison of w strengths shows a Franco-Russian mar of 1,212,000 which, together with Ital and British contributions, gave the al a total margin of 1,500,000.

True, in one respect, the Franco-Russ forces were at a disadvantage: the s rate of Russian mobilization meant t the full weight of allied superiority co

be brought to bear immediately. But in, long before the war, plans were de- d to remedy this. Russia, with French ncial support, began a massive program railway construction, whose confessed ect was to speed up the transfer of re- es to the German front. The program due to be complete in 1917, and it was this reason that the military experts, on h sides, picked 1917 as the most likely r for a conflict. Their reasoning was ificant and gives the lie to the entire ory of the deterrent. They foresaw that period of maximum danger would co- de precisely with the moment when deterrent became complete. Hence, the errent was not a deterrent at all, but a se of the conflict.

ndeed, the final proof that the deter- t, though of massive size, failed to deter o be found in the evolution of the Ger- n war plans. These varied from time to e, but they always took the general form a sharp onslaught on France through gium, followed by a more prolonged nsive, after the destruction of the nch army, against Russia. They took l shape towards the end of 1912, when y were embodied in a General Staff norandum. It is often argued that had tain publicly declared her intention of ervening in the event of an invasion of gium, the German forces would never e marched. This myth is effectively de- ished by the German memorandum: it is based on the assumption that Brit- would intervene and would have a e in the field within a month of the break. In it, the total allied strengths accurately calculated. Nevertheless, vic- is assumed as rapid and final. Similar orts, drawn up in France and Russia, the same tale of unshakable military imism. In short, though the construc- of the allied deterrent obviously played e part in winning the eventual conflict, id not, and could not, play any part in venting it, for the simple reason that German generals did not regard it as eterrent but as a challenge—and even rovocation.

ut today, it is argued, the existence of gaton bombs has abolished the concept victorious campaign and has therefore duced a qualitative change in the atti- tude of the soldiers to war itself. The first part of this contention is undoubtedly true; but the second is very debatable. Now, as before 1914, military leaders on both sides, while acknowledging that thermonuclear war must be catastrophic, still proclaim their invincible faith that, if needs be, their own forces can win it. The new British Defense White Paper fully admits that "no country can hope to gain anything by war," which would "imperil the safety of humanity." But it goes on to imply that should war come, the West would undoubtedly win it. "The overall superiority of the West," it says, "is likely to increase rather than diminish." The advent of intermediate-range rockets, it claims, will increase western military power, though, for geographical reasons, they will not afford "any corresponding strategic advantage" to Russia. It actually envisages the outbreak of total war: "In that event, the role of the allied defense forces in Europe would be to hold the front for the time needed to allow the effects of the nuclear counter-offensive to make themselves felt." In short, the generals on our side are still thinking in terms not only of war, but of victory; and so long as generals believe victory can be won, war cannot be dismissed as unthinkable. Which brings me to my central, and very simple, contention: men acquire arms not to prevent wars, but to win them.

Hitler's Folly

So we turn to the origins of the Second World War, on which the main historical case for the deterrent theory is based. Once again, it will not bear examination of the facts. There is no evidence whatsoever that Hitler, at any stage of his career, was deterred by the military strength of his adversaries. In 1941, Britain was weak, isolated and ripe for final annihilation; he nevertheless embarked on an unprovoked and unnecessary invasion of Russia; and a few months later he accepted an additional, and equally avoidable, conflict with America. Neither of these actions seems to have been determined by an assessment of the military factors, or indeed to have been influenced by them in the slightest. After all, if it was the military weakness of Brit-

ain and France which led Hitler to war in 1939, why did he not attack immediately, when that weakness was at its most pronounced?

In my view, Hitler was not influenced by rational considerations—on which, of course, the deterrent theory is based—and once he had consolidated his power, war was inevitable. Had Britain and France kept pace with German rearmament, the conflict would merely have occurred sooner. And had it done so, world opinion, which eventually and with good reason swung round behind Britain, would have been bitterly divided. We now know that even some of the British dominions were not prepared to back Britain in a conflict with Germany at any stage prior to the Polish crisis; and America, certainly, would have declared her neutrality and maintained it. Anglo-French rearmament in the mid-Thirties would merely have precipitated a war which, in all probability, we would have lost.

Indeed, the more we study the origins of wars, the clearer it becomes that the deterrent not merely fails to deter, but has exactly the opposite effect. And this for a simple logical reason. By making the deterrent the principal instrument of your foreign policy, you inevitably place its direction, to a greater or lesser extent, in the hands of the military. There is no evidence that soldiers are occupationally more bellicose than politicians or diplomats. But, of necessity, they do not think in precisely the same way. To the soldier, the ultimate evil is not to fight a war—but to lose it. He must give priority in his thinking to the second contingency. Hence, a soldier may find it his duty to resist measures which, though they would prevent a currently threatening conflict, might place his country at a military disadvantage in a subsequent one. A classic example of this is the Anglo-German agreement of 1912—the one serious attempt, throughout the period, to achieve a broadly based Anglo-German understanding—which was sabotaged by the French government on the advice of its General Staff. But many other examp could be drawn from the long negotiati of the UN Disarmament Subcommitt Any diplomat who has taken part in th will tell you that military members of delegations always have the last word; a this is inevitable, while the primary c sideration is the maintenance of the de rent.

The Peril of "Instant Readiness"

Nor, alas, is this all. When two pow blocs confront each other in a state "instant readiness," purely military fact assume such importance that they the selves can become the cause of confl This can happen in two ways. The fi and less dangerous, is by accident. Tod with both SAC and the Soviet air fo maintaining H-bomb patrols, thermo clear war can break out solely becaus pilot goes insane, or—more likely—beca of a confusion in signals. "Instant p paredness" means a considerable devo tion in authority, and it is now within capacity of a jun commander to unle the nuclear deluge. M understandings c stantly occur in m tary chains of co mand, and the po bility of an accider H-bomb war is by means as remote many people—including the Prime M ister—seem to suppose. In a recent arti Captain B. H. Liddell Hart quoted amples from the last war. In 1940, drunken British major gave the signal the invasion alarm, and plunged E Anglia into confusion. Far more seri was the destruction of Rotterdam by German air force which occurred solely cause a junior officer misinterpreted a nal.

Such possibilities, however, are not alarming as the inherent perils of a machine in a state of "instant readiness of a catastrophe springing not from a dent but from the nature of the mach itself. The deterrent, supposedly the sl of diplomacy, has an inevitable tende

(Continued on Page 29)

HIROSHIMA

THIRTEEN YEARS AFTER

BY KIYOSHI TANIMOTO

HE THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY of the Hiroshima disaster is now approaching. s the anniversary of an unprecedented erience in the history of mankind, in ch an entirely new and intensely pow- l weapon was used for the first time. took us completely by surprise. The nage to us was immense—170,000 of our ple were killed instantly, and another oo died of wounds within two months. we had foreseen such an attack, we ht have had fewer casualties. But the ck of a nuclear weapon is like a nderbolt out of the clear sky.

n the past ten years the weapons that ndated Hiroshima and Nagasaki have ome quite old-fashioned. Yet even to- , thirteen years after, a number of the ivors are still suffering from that in- t of tragedy, and others from the terror ruck into their hearts. A few suffer from tumors (keloids), and many more n leukemia. Still others fall victim to er forms of the "atom bomb sickness." h was the diagnosis of Dr. Kawaishi in case of Hideko Hirata, one of the roshima maidens" who went to the ted States a few years ago for plastic gery, when she died last April from a nach cancer. Many others have died of ous illnesses which were exacerbated r a period of time by the effects of the 5 bombing. These facts are known to yone in Hiroshima, and we are vigor- y supporting the movement to prohibit mic and hydrogen bombs.

The people of Hiroshima have a basis in erience for their keen concern for the ible damage caused by fallout from lear weapons tests. They know what it ike, as no one who has never experienced it can know. To them the tests foretell a dreadful holocaust of destruction for all mankind, even before any war is begun, if the tests continue.

This is why the Japan Council Against A and H-Bombs is getting such wide support among people throughout Japan.

"Never Again"

Among our most basic beliefs, our deepest faith, is that a peace based on massive quantities of nuclear weapons is not peace in the true sense of the word. There is something stronger than all the unprecedented killing power of the bombs. We witnessed that, too, in Hiroshima. The lesson we learned was that the greatest power on earth is the power of God's transcendent love. We learned the invincibility of this love in the heart of man. Against the rock of this faith, the worst conceivable weapon is powerless. Only through this love can there be true peace. Not even the atomic bomb can conquer it. In the midst of our city, the survivors of Hiroshima erected a simple stone monument, bearing these humble words: "Rest in Peace. We shall never again repeat our mistakes." This is a poor translation, for the Japanese word which I have given in English as "mistakes" also means "sin" in the Christian sense.

The people of Hiroshima repent of their past sins. They acknowledge their complicity in the war that brought the disaster upon them, and they harbor no malice. Out of their deep sense of repentance, they stretch out their hands for reconciliation with God and with all mankind. It is in this spirit that their protest is uttered, as a prayer to God and an appeal to the world: "No more Hiroshimas!"

SCIENCE AND Conscience AFTER SPUTNIK

BY C. F. VON WEIZSÄCKER

THE SCIENTIST is shy of discussing publicly questions concerning public life. He has learned that he should speak only when he has found something new, that otherwise it behooves him to remain silent. Yet there is at least one science where action is necessary without full possession of the truth, and that is medical science. A patient's sickness will not wait upon the doctor's scientifically worked-out solution of the problem. Risking error he must act in the half-light of approximate knowledge.

In the same way the atomic physicist gropes in the half-light in the presence of the political, military and economic consequences, of his discoveries. Perhaps, therefore, he will long remain silent about their consequences, indeed perhaps for too long. Yet the moment may come when he must speak. The moment may come when he will be thankful if asked to speak. And that is the position in which I find myself.

Let me refer to the most conspicuous political event of the year 1957—undoubtedly the appearance of the first Soviet earth satellite, the first Sputnik. The most astonishing and the most characteristic fact is that the greatest political event of 1957 was technical, yet bringing no man either immediate technical advantage or disadvantage—this gyration of a tiny aluminum sphere in the almost air-free space above us. It was a political event because of its reaction on the thoughts and susceptibilities of two billion people—because, as we saw, of its psychological effect. This effect was perhaps different upon each one of us.

As a scientist I greatly admired, but was not greatly surprised,

Scientists had long announced artifi earth satellites as a means of research the geophysical year 1958. The Russi were three months too early and above projected much larger satellites than been expected in the West. Hence learned that their rocket technique some years ahead of that in the west world. This fact had not been known our scientists. But actually nothing taken place beyond the mere ushering of a state of affairs that would anyway h come in a few years—namely that not o can the West reduce the Soviet Union a wilderness, but that the Soviet Un can do the same to the West. I must c fess that for years my own thoughts, as w as those of many of my colleagues, been shaped by the certainty that such state of affairs would soon material Hence we were not very surprised.

It may be objected that it was not fact the rockets that alarmed the West the advantage gained by the Russians. this point I should like to make two servations. In the first place this alarm merely the result of a long-cultivated i sion. The West lulled itself into believ that it was ahead of the Soviet Union the technique of heavy arms and had e allowed its policy to be determined by illusion. Let us be thankful that it woken up.

Secondly, what we know about the evitable development of technology long convinced us, and does so today, the development of even more powe weapons will not lead to the superio of one particular side but to a stalem

he state has been reached where I am
e, at will, to kill my opponent, it argues
great superiority on his part if in the
nwhile he can kill me five times over.
vid had no need for Goliath's strength
weapons; he needed nothing but a sling,
one, and a steady hand.
)ur life today lies in the hands of the
scow oligarchy. Presumably it is not
erested in our death, but certainly in
olicy of expansion behind which there
ertheless lurks the threat of recourse to
is at times of crisis. Thus it seems that
freedom of nations—freedom as we
derstand it in the West—is guaranteed
y by the certainty that mortal blow
be answered with mortal blow.
That, however, is a precarious guaran-
It rests, for example, on a technical de-
: that the blow cannot be so rapid or
absolute as to preclude a counter blow.
make sure of this, airplanes today con-
ually circle in the air loaded with hydro-
bombs. I feel uncomfortable under
protection.
The problem is, however, not only tech-
al but one of principle. If we pursue to
logical conclusion the idea of protection
means of weapons which we do not dare
use if we wish to survive, it appears to
bluff. I once tried to formulate this as
ows: these bombs safeguard peace and
edom provided they never fall; if they
fall scarcely anything will be left to
eguard. But they protect us just as in-
ctively if everyone knows that they will
er fall; then the opponent can act as if
y did not exist. Hence we must be de-
mined also to use them, and that means
t they really may one day fall.
As you know, in April 1957, a group of
mic physicists to which I belong drew
a public declaration about atomic weap-
. The political part of it runs as follows:
e declare faith in a freedom such as
western world today upholds against
mmunism. We do not deny that the mu-
l fear of the hydrogen bomb contrib-
s considerably towards the maintenance
peace throughout the whole world and
freedom throughout part of it. But we
sider this means of ensuring peace and
edom as unreliable in the long run, and
consider the danger that would, in the
nt of breakdown, accrue to be fatal. We
do not feel competent to make concrete suggestions towards a policy for the Great Powers. We believe that a small country like the German Federal Republic can still best protect itself and can still most further world peace if it positively and voluntarily renounces the possession of atomic weapons of any kind. On no account is a signatory prepared to take any part whatever in the production, trial or use of atomic weapons."

A Step Toward Negotiation

We were not arguing about the special position of Germany, important as that may perhaps have seemed to us, but about the fact that it is a small country. To what would it lead if eventually all small countries obtained atomic weapons? The state of affairs then to be expected has rightly been named atomic chaos. All the dangers inherent in present conditions would be magnified sevenfold. Thus our declaration had not a national but an international aim. Yet we were convinced that our beginning must be where our civic responsibility lay—in our own land.

The strategic value of atomic weapons in German hands would, once long-distance rockets have been developed, be very ephemeral. If, on the other hand, the renunciation of these weapons, preferably within a framework of an international agreement, could be a factor in the loosening of European tensions, a small price would have been paid for a good thing. May I, in connection with this, mention the lectures of George F. Kennan, with whose analysis I so largely agree.

The most important international organization of our day is the United Nations. However little we may think of its effectiveness, and with whatever good reasons, we should not on that account avoid efforts to set this house in order. Little included in the projects just mentioned can materialize as the result of one country's one-sided act or, indeed, that of the entire western world. Definite settlement needs agreement.

If, for example, atomic chaos is to be avoided it is not enough that some countries make voluntary renunciations, while others do not. Hence an international

agreement must be drawn up to regulate this question, otherwise it never will be. I even imagine that one day the world powers themselves, so as not to be dependent upon the no longer controllable reactions of third powers, may discover a strong common interest in such a settlement. In any case those countries that today have no atomic weapons would no doubt make a better contribution to their own and the common welfare if they sought to bring about such agreement rather than strive for possession of atomic weapons.

I believe that a man from another planet visiting us in this decade would say: You are mad. You have discovered means to destroy yourselves and upon your free decision depends whether you will use them or not. But you act in such a manner that this decision is never made; instead you exploit the danger hovering over you to force from one another concessions of secondary importance. You see everything except what matters. Or worse; you do see it, yet take no relevant action. Your consciousness is split. You are mad. You are not illogical; on the contrary, you are very consistent and very deliberate. But your logic is the logic of madness.

I have spoken as a scientist, and as a citizen of the western world. Now I must try to speak to you as a Christian. What can Christians do in the situation wherein the world finds itself?

Christians spread the Gospel by living the Gospel. The heart of the message that Christ taught is the Sermon on the Mount: the course of his life led to the Cross. Is that relevant to our question?

The madness to which I have just referred is no product of this decade of our century. The problem concerning atomic weapons is like a screen upon which our era projects the gigantically enlarged image of man's inner problem. I am convinced that, at least in the occidental world, Christians alone know a deep enough truth about man to be able to cure the madness. They are not listened to. And why? Because madness does not wish to listen—

the demons resist being expelled. But w is it that we Christians have no power o them? Often enough, I am afraid, beca we do not carry out what we say; in ot words because we are ourselves in power of the demons. The only answer I know for the Christian to the ato weapon is the Sermon on the Mount. I do not say that lightly, for it has ta me many years to convince myself of th

The Christian Mandate

Our theology of today has no bind answer to this question, and I believe i possible to agree that it cannot prov one. The controversy between those Ch tians who defend war and those who nounce it is age-old. Christianity has ferentiated between righteous and righteous wars, between a righteous and righteous manner of waging them. It differentiated between the individual e which inclined towards the Sermon on Mount and the ethic of political respo bility which dictated the protection of low men by means of weapons.

All this inspires spect where the ef is serious. I do challenge it. But ask myself whet after reading the N Testament, I can d a hydrogen bo then I know that answer is "No." A if I may not drop it, then I cannot m it for another to drop. And if I can make it in order that it may be dropp can I then make it in order that it be used to threaten? Can I be certain t the matter would go no further? Ca bluff here? Or do I thereby deceive self? That answer which is personally v for myself I only knew after I was c pelled to ponder what my attitude wo be if the bombs were to be made in own country. Decisions are as persona that nowadays.

If, however, you ask me what I consi to be right for the Church, I must firs all answer negatively thus: I cannot lieve that the Church can say "Yes" to use of the H-bomb. If she is not able to

" she will have to acknowledge her plexity either openly or else by complete nce. Yet I believe that members of the urch can do themselves and the whole ld a service if upon quite definite pre-positions they openly say "No." These suppositions will emerge from my dis-ions of the following objections, one which is theoretical, the other practical:
. There will always be wars, and the omb is the war weapon of today.
. If we renounce the H-bomb we there-reject all effective military protection.
The first, the theoretical objection, seems ne false; the second, the practical, seems me, however, to contain a measure of dity.
The first objection seems to me to be ed upon inexact theology, inexact psy-logy and inexact historical judgment. It uld be theologically exact to say that imagination of man's heart is evil from youth; that is, translated in modern m, there will always be discord and itive evil. There will always be strife, haps with other and more morally re-sive means than recourse to arms; eco-nic pressure, lies, possibly brainwash-s and terror. But strife will, according to intellectual, social and technical cir-nstances, change the authorized ways and ans it uses in order to guarantee success. us war between regional units using apons is only one such way. In our days contention based on reason that war s not pay has a more terrible validity n formerly. I presume that the Atomic will abolish resort to national and im-ial war; otherwise atomic war will abol-the Atomic Era. Behind all projects, ne of which I have discussed, there lies s thought. We should be nearer our l if we knew better how to accomplish itical ends without the means of na-nal and imperial war. It is one of com-nism's strengths that its theory shows an derstanding of this fact.
Now we come to the much stronger prac-l objection that the H-bomb is the least table means for the purpose: the pros-t of peace, the argument runs, rests on the balancing of fears. If we are pre-ed to fight with our inadequate weap-s, then war is more possible than if we uld threaten with adequate weapons. If, the argument proceeds, we are in no man-ner prepared for counter action we should deliver ourselves, our fellow-citizens, our children and our grandchildren into a new slavery.

I fully appreciate the strength of this point of view and give emphasis to it when I say that this is obviously the policy of the Soviet Union today: to undermine the strength of the West by exploiting the prevalent and understandable antipathy to atomic weapons. I should not have referred to the logic of madness had I thought the problem easily solved; the logic of madness is logic. By its very consequence it exposes the madness of its premises; but he who seriously contests the premises must appear mad to himself and to his fellow man.

Conscience and the Church

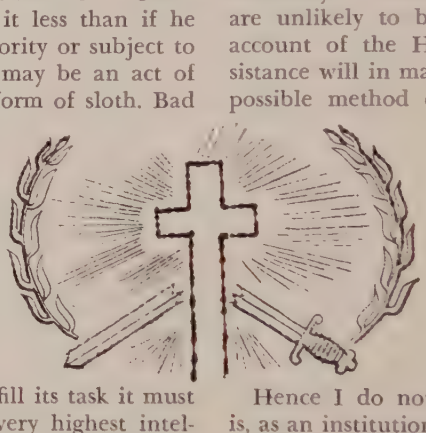
Let me put the counter-question: what would be our fate if no one were to remind us what would happen were we to carry out the threat that, as threat, is intended to guard our freedom and our peace? Would slavery ever have been abolished if men had not dared to say it was wrong? But to say a thing so that it is heard is not done by words alone but by words that correspond to deeds. A silent refusal will change more in the world than a strident proclamation. Again, as a Christian, I ask myself: can I justify the assertion that there must be men who will do that and at the same time refuse to be one of them myself?

The problem would be simple if the Church were, as in the first two hundred years of her existence, a politically insignificant sect. Clearly it would be her duty to practice the Sermon on the Mount and nothing else. But since the time of Constantine she has had a direct part in political responsibility. Can the Church on account of this responsibility say "Yes" to the H-bomb? I do not think she can, for by so doing she would betray a greater trust. Is she therefore to say "No" to the H-bomb? I do not think she can because she is spiritually not qualified; she is like the world, neither practically nor intellectually equal to the historical events of today. To be sure, no Christian can so much

as dabble with historical development without realizing that it is a tissue of human decisions made either for good or for evil. But even if a man believes that God visits on us the sins of the fathers as well as our own, can he in the bitterness of his soul use this against his brother? No, he cannot; otherwise he will betray a part of what he has already understood.

It is unfair to suggest a course of action to an institution not capable of it. It seems to me right to tell the individual member of the Church that this is no justification for his personal inaction. It is only the necessity to make a decision which leads to that crisis in the heart of man without which no salutary action can be expected. It is only in this sense, without bitterness and in a spirit of self-criticism, that I now add what follows:

A Christian is in a difficult position in this world, although as citizen of a Christian country he realizes it less than if he were a member of a minority or subject to persecution. Conformity may be an act of love, but usually it is a form of sloth. Bad conscience, the result of this sloth in each of us, is kept in abeyance by means of ideology. Ideology, as Marx has taught us, is abstract thinking, speaking, believing in order to act concretely in an opposite direction. If ideology is to fulfill its task it must be the offspring of the very highest intellectual level of those who hold it. On that account the Church has an admirable theology and with it partly blinds herself to the reality in the midst of which she exists.



Believing that atomic weapons will effectively protect our peace and our freedom is an ideology, a well-thought-out ideology containing strong elements of truth. Yet its ideological function is to cripple our wills. In wars of previous centuries man was compelled to look his enemy in the eye. Peace and freedom have never been effectively protected save by personal intervention. The H-bomb, as long as it remains in the arsenal, demands no personal sacrifice from us except financial. And, only to take this example to serve for many, the difference made upon a stat finances is that the money will be lacki to carry out an energetic policy of ass ance in the underdeveloped regions.

We Must Decide

Trust in the H-bomb prevents imagi tion from attempting an approach towa undogmatic possibilities of defending o way of life. How many people in our cou tries have concretely examined how political aims can be attained by means passive resistance? Certainly, in my cou try, hardly anyone knows the simple fa about Gandhi. It is easy to establish t fact that this mode of combat can o bring about a decisive victory in very sp cial circumstances. But has it ever been us as an argument against armies that w are capable of being lost or of ending decisively? If it is true that, in future, w are unlikely to break out, even only account of the H-bomb, then passive sistance will in many cases remain the o possible method of fighting. What it quires, just as does war with weapons. a determined and d ciplined cadre. Nei er this possibility n the far more conve tional political met ods that I have d cussed have receiv sufficient examinatio

Hence I do not think that the Chur is, as an institution, in a position to sugg on a basis of political responsibility t renunciation of the H-bomb; she does n know, none of us knows, what such a su gestion would mean. But she would kn as little if she defended the bomb. T necessity, however, of deciding oursel may bring us to a salutary crisis that w at least smash a part of our ideology. seems to me that those who have alrea experienced part of this crisis may be ab to render their fellow men a service without pride or bitterness, and witho making too much noise, they dissoci themselves from all participation in wh ever has to do with atomic weapons and, need be, publicly stand by their renunc tion.

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF Radiation

BY NORMAN S. COHN

HERE ARE THREE basic effects of radiation exposure. These can be classified the genetic effects, induction of abmally behaving tissues such as cancer l leukemia, and the shortening of life n which is an end result of damage inred. It is rather difficult to evaluate the nage already done or the damage that l be done in the future by radiation. ere is so little information about man m either a clinical or experimental ndpoint, and it is extremely difficult to rapolate the data collected from experintal organisms into terms relating to n. It is for this reason that scientists rking in this area are cautious not to restimate or underestimate the effects radiation. It is obvious that it is as danous to become alarmist as it is to be lectful of the hazards of radiation. Nevneless, it is evident that damage of ious sorts occurs in man as a conseence of radiation exposure.

Most of our information about genetic cts comes from experiments performed such organisms as fruit flies, rats, mice, bits, etc. As a result of experiments on se and other organisms, both plant and mal, the fact has been established that iation causes mutations. A heritable rration is a change occurring in the etic material of the cell—the chromoes. This change is either on a large e involving a rearrangement or dele1 of the chromosome material, or on a lecular level—a true point mutation—in ch some chemical alteration occurs. en this event takes place in a reproduc cell, the egg or sperm, its effect aprs in the next or later generations. Such tations range in effect on the appear-e or functioning of the organism from imperceptible to the lethal. Mutations ur spontaneously in nature. The frequency varies with different genes on different chromosomes in different organisms, but the frequency is generally low, the average being in the range of 1 gene/100,000 to 1/1,000,000. Thus, a mutation at any genic locus is a rare event. In man, for example, a mutation from normal clotting to hemophilia occurs only about 3 times /100,000, and this is considered to be a relatively high rate of spontaneous change.

There are beneficial as well as harmful mutations, most of which do not become evident for several generations. A beneficial mutation is one whose expression increases the ability of the organism to cope with its environment. The majority of mutations however, are harmful—99% of them, in fact—and they can be produced by surprisingly low doses of radiation. These effects are additive and cumulative over any period of time during which they are repeated exposures. The appearance of mutations may not occur for one or more generations, but continued exposures will enhance their frequency in future populations.

Somatic and Genetic Changes

Not only are heritable effects produced, but such changes occur in the cells of the body other than the reproductive cells. Such effects, termed somatic changes, could initiate the development of malignancies or leukemia and related disease conditions. It is known that bone marrow and related tissues associated with the formation of blood cells are especially sensitive to radiation, and therefore extremely susceptible to cellular aberrancies such as leukemia. One British group calculated that about 20,000 deaths per generation in Western Europe are from radiation-induced leukemia. It must be made clear that the likelihood of "monster" production (an un-

usual or grotesque form) is practically nonexistent. The spectrum of changes that can occur in an organism is quite limited and controlled by a normal cellular environment. Therefore, only the kinds of abnormalities with which we are familiar, such as diabetes, susceptibility to certain diseases etc. are likely to occur. In other words, we may be raising the mutation frequency and increasing the incidence of certain defects.

In addition to a change showing up in later generations, such changes also occur in the generation directly exposed to radiation. For example, a kidney ailment may be induced in an individual and the same ailment could be observed in a later generation due to genetic aberration. There is also the problem of the death of the fetus. This can arise in one of two ways—genetical or physiological. Genetically, a lethal mutation occurs in the egg or sperm resulting in abnormal development of the embryo. The physiological effect is damage, mechanical or radiation-induced, during gestation which disrupts the normal development of the fetus and results in death.

The Arithmetic of Strontium 90

It has been estimated that the current testing rate, if continued, might, as a maximum effect, shorten the average life span by about 2 days. This does not seem very significant at face value. However, as Linus Pauling has pointed out, this is an average number and when examined more closely means that 1 person in every 250,000 dies about 14 years earlier than he would normally, whereas the remainder are relatively unaffected. If one multiplies this by the population of the world, it means that approximately a million people are so affected.

Strontium 90 and other radioactive isotopes present a particular problem that has been associated with fallout. Sr 90 is selectively incorporated into bone, and enters through the diet in vegetables and milk. Younger people have more radioactivity per gram of calcium, and since Sr 90 comes in along with calcium and is preferentially selected by bone, the dangers are magnified. At present, it has been stated that the data indicate that the level of Sr 90 in the body is not high enough to be effecti However, the assay methods are not adequate, the data is sparse, and the s tistical interpretation of the data is son what damaging, and the effects are cum lative.

Associated with the problems of Sr is the effect of the radiation produced the explosion of weapons in effecting change in mineral substances. Such chang are the production of radioactive isotop of these elements such as manganese a cobalt which are powerful sources of rad tion and which can be incorporated in the cells of plants and animals. The p duction of such isotopes is quite distin from fallout since they result from t radiation emitted in the fission proce There is already evidence that these i topes are concentrated by marine a fresh-water plants and animals, often much as 100 times the concentration water.

Although the damage that can be do to man by radiation has been emphasiz here, it is not yet known to what exte fallout contributes to this. In summary, can be stated that the frequency of mu tions is increased, that malignancies various kinds are produced, and con quently the life span is shortened as a sult of radiation exposure. At this writi probably little damage is caused by fallo but one must also consider the oth sources of radiation to which man is posed, natural and clinical. The decisio on the uses of atomic energy, both pea ful and in an arms program, must be bas upon a wide scientific knowledge of t materials and their effects, the political c cumstances, and the personal and soc inclinations and responsibilities of the p ples of the world. A multilateral, level proach will be the most effective in est lishing an anxiety-free solution.

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION ——►

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

JULY 1, 1958
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NEW SOVIET "HARD" POLICY CHALLENGES PEACE EFFORTS

Imre Nagy and three other leaders of the 1956 Hungarian revolt have been ecuted, reportedly after a "secret trial" for treason to Communism. News of is ugly, uncivilized act of vengeance arrived, ironically, on June 17, the fifth niversary of the East German uprising. Nagy and his comrades had been abducted Soviet troops in violation of a safe conduct granted them by the puppet Kadar vernment in November 1956, and until w their whereabouts had been in ubt.

The news came as a shock to many. ie UN Special Committee on the Prob- m of Hungary, in a communique, de- ored "this latest tragic event" and pressed "grave concern lest the end this repression and killing may not t be in sight."

On June 20 and 22, Hungarian ex- es besieged the offices of the So- et UN delegation in New York, smash- g windows and, on the later occasion, juring 7 policemen. Similar outbreaks ok place at Soviet embassies in Bonn, penhagen and elsewhere. In retal- tion, a Russian mob of 1,500 staged two-hour demonstration outside the erman embassy in Moscow, smashing windows with bricks and stones.

In Washington, hopes for a summit eting were dim. One diplomat doubted Dulles would meet with Soviet leaders ow that they are getting their hands ained with blood just as Stalin's were."

The executions have dramatically nfirmed the renewal of a "hard" So- et policy as indicated in Moscow's cent propaganda attacks on Yugo- avia. For those who harbored opti- stic illusions about a "new look" Russia, the Nagy executions must me as a crushing blow. But advocates balance-of-terror policies can take tle comfort in an "I told you so" titude; their vaunted "deterrent" did t deter the Communists from killing gy or fomenting the embassy riots.

Phoenix *Sails From Hawaii*

Although the Golden Rule's *crew was jailed early last month, another ketch, the 50-ft.* Phoenix of Hiroshima, *set sail soon afterward with the* Rule's *charts and provisions, bound for the Marshall Islands, near the danger zone of the bomb test area.*

The Phoenix's *skipper, anthropologist Earle L. Reynolds, who once worked for the AEC, announced "If the U.S. government wants to stop me, they'll have to sink me. I will regard any interference with my vessel on the high seas as an act of piracy."*

The government has told Reynolds that his destination is off-limits, but has not tried to prevent him from sailing. With him are his wife, a teen-age daughter and son, and a Japanese crewman.

The knowledge that we are confronted with an unscrupulous foe is a stern reminder that peace is no easy task. The mandate for Christians remains the same: we must redouble our efforts to "recompense evil with good," and the greater the evil, the more urgently needed is the good if nuclear war is to be averted in our time. The executions offer a jolting challenge to the courage of our convictions, and clear evidence of the need for "massive reconciliation."

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Peace Protests Continue

Eighty-three people participated in a five-mile Peace Walk to Middletown, N.J., on June 22, one month after eight Nike missiles exploded at the Army base there, killing ten men. Leaders of the walk were New Jerseyites Verna Sidwell, Marii Hasegawa and Mildred Goertzel.

On the same day, crowds of British peace marchers converged on Trafalgar Square in London, from four different routes, holding nuclear disarmament rallies along the way. Maximum marching distance was twelve miles, but motorcades came in from as far as Plymouth, Bristol and Poole.

On June 23, the two-week FOR-sponsored Vigil at Canaveral got under way, with participants walking in silence for two hours at the entrance to the missile testing area. Vigil members have adopted the blue armbands used in the Walk to the UN as their identifying symbol, and plan to repeat the two-hour silent march daily throughout the Vigil.

In Cheyenne, Wyoming, meanwhile, Ted Olson and Arthur Springer have begun a "community-based witness" against the first American ICBM base which is located there, with distribution of an "Appeal to Cheyenne" to begin a two-week "experiment in persuasion," starting June 23.

As *Fellowship* went to press, no news had been received of a major protest march in Japan. As planned, however, two hundred A-bomb victims were to have led a five-day trek from Nagasaki to Tokyo, ending June 16.

H-Test Concern Grows in Churches

Christian concern over continu testing of nuclear weapons continu to grow. As FOR member Edwin Dahlberg, president of the Nation Council of Churches, has said repea edly, "The supreme issue before ma kind is ending the armament race. Th means halting nuclear bomb tests...."

Another FOR member, Converse H Hunter, as delegate to the general a sembly of the 3-million-member Unite Presbyterian Church, meeting on Jun 5, proposed an amendment to that group statement on bomb tests, calling f unconditional and unilateral ending the U.S. tests. After an hour and a ha of debate, the pacifist amendment w defeated, 516 to 480. As adopted, th resolution called simply for "realisti negotiation" towards banning the test

In similar resolutions, the America Baptist Convention, meeting on Jun 19, urged the U.S. government to "seiz moral leadership" and the Reforme Church in America hesitantly aske about "the possibility of working o a program" without "impairment of th free world." The Baptists also rea firmed support of COs and oppositio to UMT.

President Oscar A. Benson of th 576,000-member Augustana Luthera Church, at its synod on June 17, pr sented a scathing indictment of th "supercilious attitude" of governmen leaders in response to the growing vo ume of protest against the tests, an said that this attitude "has lost us th moral leadership of the world." Th job of Christians, said Dr. Benson, i to "challenge this folly," and he de plored the fact that non-Christians ofte seem to predominate among the cham pions of peace, civil rights and bannin of nuclear tests.

Whether forthrightly or timidly, th churches are moving towards a realiza tion that there is no true answer to th threat of Communism but the full gosp of Christ. As Dr. Benson put it, "Wh are believers in Christ so skeptica about the invincibility of faith that the can be induced to rely rather on man made weapons?"

NEWS from the peace front

A "Peace Mission to Government" s approved last month by the Church the Brethren. The mission, as pro-ed by the Brethren Service Commis-n, will consist of four to six "mis-ners," who will seek "interviews depth" with government officials ing the fall of 1958 and spring of 9. The avowed purpose of the mis-n is to "witness to our basic con-ns on peace and brotherhood to gov-ment leaders who carry strategic re-nsibilities for the foreign policy of United States...."

* * *

The U.S. Supreme Court has decided, , that the State Department does not e the right to inquire into the pol-s of Americans applying for pass-ts (See "Three Questions and a nscience," *Fellowship*, Dec. 1957). he right of exit," said the Court's ng, "is a personal right included hin the word 'liberty' as used in the th Amendment."

* * *

On June 18, twenty persons filed t in Federal Court to enjoin the U.S. ernment from conducting further nu-ar weapons tests in the Pacific. ned in the suit were the Atomic En-y Commission and Defense Secretary l H. McElroy, who are charged with gally causing radiation which "dam-s the population of the world." Sim-complaints have been planned for al action in Britain and Russia. ong the plaintiffs are FOR members tin Niemoller and Andre Trocme. ers include Nobel Prizewinners us Pauling and Bertrand Russell, Japanese pacifist Toyohiko Kagawa.

* * *

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed eview the case of Virginia Quaker id H. Scull. In October last year e *Fellowship*, Dec. 1957, p. 23), ll was sentenced to ten days in jail a $50 fine for refusing to answer stions of the Virginia Racial Activ-s Committee concerning integration-efforts of AFSC, B'nai B'rith and er groups. As proprietor of a print-ing plant in Annandale, Va., Scull has produced literature for these groups. Hearings are to begin in October.

* * *

Ninety-one persons are expected to go on trial sometime in July, charged with treason against the racist govern-ment of South Africa. The accused face a possible death penalty if convicted. Their "crime": actively campaigning for equal rights and opportunities now denied the majority of South Africa's population.

George M. Houser, FOR National Council member and executive secre-tary of the South Africa Defense Fund, reports that $25,000 has been sent from the U.S. to help in the long and expen-sive litigation. About $150,000 more is needed. Sponsors of the Fund include dozens of distinguished Americans, in-cluding several members of the FOR. It is administered by the American Com-mittee on Africa, 4 West 40 St., New York 18, N.Y.

* * *

Levittown, N.J., was the subject of discussion and planning last month by the Philadelphia FOR, following dis-tribution of leaflets at the new all-white suburban development on opening day, June 7. The leaflets, which were hand-ed out by both Philadelphia and New Jersey FOR members, called for "dem-ocracy in housing" and characterized builder William Levitt's jim crow policy as "planting the seeds of racial vio-lence." The Philadelphia group agreed to work with the South Jersey FOR in a continuing campaign for integration in the new Levittown. Prospective buy-ers of homes were urged to tell Levitt's sales agents that they want "open occupancy." All concerned persons are invited to contact FOR group leader Neil Hartman, 310 E. 3rd St., Moores-town, N.J., to assist in the campaign.

POSITION OPEN

Shipping clerk needed in FOR National Office. Apply to Alfred Hassler, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

Quote Unquote

"Out in Tennessee there is a plant which turns out bombs. Here (Union Theological Seminary) is a plant which turns out ministers of the Gospel. The two seem remote and unrelated. Actually the issue of all our human time is--which of the two outputs will prevail."

--Sec'y of State John Foster Dulles, May 28, 1958

"In Hiroshima I have seen people without eyes. I saw people who yesterday were still healthy, suddenly lie down and cough blood....Travel to Hiroshima and see what happened there. This evil must never be repeated. Never!"

--Robert Jungk, in a speech at Frankfurt, Germany

"It is our opinion that it is imperative not only to cease all atomic and hydrogen weapons tests, but to destroy all existing nuclear weapons and guarantee effectively the discontinuation of further manufacture of such weapons through an agreement between all countries producing them."

--Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel.

"War has finally lost its glory an the tomb of the next unknown sold may simply be the mass grave of m kind."

--Edward P. Morgan, in his Me orial Day broadcast.

"Continued insistence on nucle bomb testing undermines the natio morality and places it on the level ethics generally condemned in the S viet Union."

--Dean Walter G. Muelder, Boston School of Theology.

DATES TO REMEMBER

July 11-18. AFSC Vacation Institu Pawling, N.Y. Discussions and pan on war, bomb tests, USSR. Write AFS 237 Third Ave., New York 3, N.Y.

July 12. Virginia FOR Conference. registration and accomodations, wr Dr. Lowell V. Heisey, Bridgewa College, Bridgewater, Va.

August 3-9. Circle Pines Center Wo shop on Nonviolence and Social Chan Cloverdale, Michigan.

August 24-29. ILCOP Conference Krogerup Hojskole, Denmark. Wr ILCOP Secretariat, Paradiesstr. Riehen, Switzerland.

Realistic Pacifism Is More Than Common Sense

"Rational *pacifism is based on an error. By rational pacifism I mea the opinion that if only men clearly understood the terrors of war, they wou put an end to it and to all war preparations. This implies that the continua ion of war danger is due only to the blindness of politicians. Why, then, ar there still blind politicians? The truth is that wars are only paroxysms conflicts which smolder in the irrational depths of human nature. War break out because in truth men* want *them--even though they imagine the do not.*

"Those who want peace will have to make great efforts and sacr fices, not smaller than those people have made in the past to win wars. can be said: Peace does not come cheaper than war."

--*C.F. von Weizsacker in the* Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, *May 195*

The Christian Alternative to ANNIHILATION

BY HAROLD A. BOSLEY

S IT POSSIBLE that there can be truth in the old notion that, in times of great ional trial and excitement, so many n go mad . . . that madness becomes a of epidemic?"

This question was posed by an anony- us diarist of Civil War days. It had its wer not only in what was happening n, but also in what has happened be- e and during every war, and what seems pe happening now. That answer is "Yes, n can and do go mad." To read the lit- ture of any war period, including our n time, is like walking into the hall at arnival where hundreds of mirrors are constructed and arranged as to produce ecognizable distortions of every object sented in them.

es, "madness can become a sort of epi- nic." Fear and hate can invade every n of our life, distorting every emotion, n, hope and even prayer we have. We truth lies and lies truth—and believe ntil the fit of madness passes. We re- d as a public benefactor anyone who s fuel to our fear and hate; we up-end vials of wrath on any and all who stion the wisdom and the justice of t we do. Tolerance, understanding, re- ct for another, respect for his right to er and be different, humility about one- —these are early casualties in the hearts at the hands of mad men. Pride, er, conformity, self-righteousness—al- s suspect in periods of sanity—become t virtues in an era of madness.

his is more than history—that is, a ement of what has happened; it is phecy—a prediction of what will hap- if we continue as we are. For the things that make for war are trying hard to get into the saddle these days. And if they do, they will spur us over the edge of annihilation. But they have not yet won. We still have a good chance to check them. And check them we must.

There is work enough for all to do, regardless of our motive. There is work for the man who simply wants to save his own neck—for the life of every human being on the face of this planet is in grave jeopardy. There is work for the moral man whose concerns reach beyond himself and include justice and equity for all men. There is work to be done by those of us who, all unworthily, bear the name Christian—for we not only believe in the Kingdom of God but are pledged to witness to and to work for its realization in the lives of all men. We are called to be the salt of the earth, the light of the world; we are called to judgment by the question Jesus put to his disciples: "What do ye more than others?" Let us not permit ourselves the luxury of taking our eyes off that word "more" as we work our way into the problem before us and seek to discover a Christian alternative to annihilation.

First, then, a quick survey of the problem we face; then a more detailed discussion of the least and the most we can do about it.

The Problem We Face

Ours is a day of unprecedented change and profound confusion throughout the entire world. There is tumult wherever we look. Political and social patterns of life that have existed with little or no

change for centuries are disappearing almost overnight in vast whirlpools of violent change. Every colonial people on the face of the earth is fighting for political freedom.

To choose one example, the peoples of Asia—two-thirds of the human family—are struggling against any and every semblance of foreign control. They are seeking three things: 1) political autonomy; 2) social and economic stability: 3) a voice in world affairs proportionate to their number. Even if we were so ill-advised as to attempt it, there is nothing—literally nothing—that we or anyone else can do to stop their thrust in all three directions. The British, the French, the Dutch have felt the stunning power of these revolutions—and so have we. The choices before non-Asian powers are simple. We cannot ignore them. We can help them; we can hinder them; but we cannot stop them.

An even closer cause for alarm is the way the recurring tensions with Russia have everyone's nerves on edge.

The cold war heats up periodically, then seems to cool off—only to heat up again. This has been going on for a dozen years now—with no early or easy end in view. We've been rushing from one critical area to another armed for battle and in some cases we have had battle, as in Korea. We have built air bases all over the globe and have armed them with our best bombers and deadliest weapons. We propose to supplant these with missile bases as soon as these weapons are capable of certain control—and as soon as we can secure the permission of reluctant countries to let us build them there.

Samuel Johnson once observed, "Depend upon it, sir, it clears a man's head wonderfully to know that he is to be hanged tomorrow." If that is the recipe for sobriety, we shall be the most sober generation of people ever to live on earth—and I believe we are.

East, West, North, South—everywhere there is an awareness of the appalling danger we face if all-out war actually comes. The experts have told us how unimaginably terrible it will be. Last Spring, Nobel Prizewinner Albert Schweitzer, in his famous "Declaration of Conscience" (see FELLOWSHIP, June 1957), called mankind's attention to the medical and biol ical dangers of continued nuclear exp ments. Other and extremely capable stud have supported his grim analysis of the c tain consequences of loading the atm phere with Strontium 90, which has be called "the long-range killer" that is p duced in great quantities in each test.

We owe the scientists a debt of gratitu for their frank, determined effort to ke us informed of the dangers of these sup bombs and their tests. Seldom does a thing occur on television of such imp as to make the world stand still, but it h pened one morning recently when a sci tist was assuring Dave Garroway of the c sequences of all-out nuclear war. Once starts, he warned, "We have one hour live." You do not need to have an unu ally active imagination to see what he saying and to know that it would be h pening here. Our end would be certa quick and complete. Only by a mira could it be anything else—and it is b not to count on miracles in this matter

Let us then be clear on this final f about the problem we face. It is whether we or Russia will win the war. is whether life shall be annihilated on planet.

The Christian Commitment

Every responsible man must face problem, but only those of us who pro to be Christians must bear the additio responsibility of the Christian commitm This Christian commitment is someth we made voluntarily when we joined church. No one forced it upon us then. can anyone enforce it upon us now. Sta in its simplest terms it is the great c mandment of Christian love.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God w all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all mind, with all thy strength, and thy ne bor as thyself."

"By this shall all men know that ye my disciples, that ye love one another.

"Ye have heard that it hath been s 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and h thine enemy,' but I say unto you, 'L your enemies, bless them that curse you good to them that hate you, and pray them which despitefully use you and pe cute you, that ye may be the children

ır Father which is in heaven. . . .'"
We are committed, then, in all that we nk, say, plan and do, to make love the of our life; as the Quakers say, to make e obvious. It is our duty to try to clar- in company with each other the mean- of love in terms of all of the problems face and to fashion policies that will in- nate it as best we know how and can. allibility is not given to any of us in this tter, but an unshakable concern rests on us all. It is in that spirit that we ap- ach the grave possibility of the annihila- n of life on this planet, and I suggest do this by asking and answering three estions:

1) What are the things we cannot do?
2) What is the least we can do?
3) What is the most we can do?

What We Cannot Do

t is possible, I believe, to list a number courses of action that are clearly ruled by our Christian mmitment. While h one could be dis- sed in detail here, y have been dis- sed in detail all r the Christian urch, and a general sensus seems to be erging on them. at is what I am trying to summarize ckly now.

) We cannot accept or endorse war as hristian means of settling a dispute or suing a policy, however good that pol- may be. While there is real disagree- nt among churchmen on whether a war ver just or necessary, there is no dis- eement on it as an evil and un-Christian ns.

) We cannot sanction or support a pre- tive war—that is, an attack launched inst an enemy before he strikes, hoping reby to cripple his blow and save our- es from widescale destruction. Even alists without the additional responsi- y imposed by the Christian commit- nt are agreed in this. It shocks the con- nce of any moral man to think of plan- g and executing such a blow no matter t the reasons or the danger.

) We cannot endorse or acquiesce in either the enslavement of or domination of the world or any part of it by one power—whether Russia or the United States. While the methods of the police states are spectacularly brutal and utterly revolting to anyone who believes in the principle and practice of love, so also are the indirect methods of dominating the life of another people through economic coercions of whatever kind.

This is why church conferences, considering the relationship between foreign policy and Christian ethics, have been critical of the strings we as a nation have attached to much of our economic aid to other countries: Our primary purpose has been to build strong allies rather than to build strong peoples.

4) We cannot accept or endorse the policy of massive retaliation as being in any sense a legitimate expression of the Christian commitment. It is the negation of the fundamental purpose of the Christian gospel which is summed up in the word *reconciliation:* The reconciliation of man with man and man with God. We are not objecting to the word "retaliation"; we are objecting to the policy clearly implicit in it. The policy of massive retaliation is twofold: 1) to strike fear in the hearts of our enemies; 2) in case of war, to inflict maximum and unlimited destruction upon them —their cities, peoples and total life—without regard for the innocence or guilt of the ones struck.

In the light of the Christian commitment, the principle of retaliation is a throwback to the ethics of the jungle, and the practice of retaliation is a revelation of man not as a child of God but as a child of all the screaming fiends of hell.

5) We cannot sanction the withdrawal of our efforts to help meet the social and economic needs of the underprivileged peoples of the world. No emergency is grave enough to justify the weakening of every effort to help other members of the human family toward minimal standards of living. The Christian commitment requires unending effort to aid anyone in need.

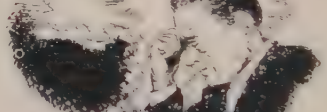
The Least We Can Do

Here, I am sure, both the moral man—that is, one interested in justice and peace—and the Christian—that is, one committed to seek a world where men will love one another—are in substantial agreement. We may be inspired by different motives but we walk the same road on this long portion of our journey away from fear and annihilation.

The least we can do—and I would not minimize the great importance of it—are these things: First and foremost, keep our heads, don't panic; refuse to be shouted into extreme positions by those who have panicked.

That this is a very great need has been obvious since last October when the first Russian satellite began circling the globe. Literally we were afflicted with what Milton called "moon-struck madness!"

Now that we have a moon of our own up—a moon that behaves as a good democratic moon should behave, emitting the right kind of beeps at the right time—the initial hysteria may ease up. The least we can do is assist this process in every way. It is always hard to keep things in perspective, to keep our head "when all around us men are losing theirs," but we must do it. If we cannot, the struggle for security and peace is over and we have lost.



2) We must support every effort to keep open the path of diplomatic negotiation on all levels—whether foreign ministers or heads of states, or through the instrumentality of the United Nations, or by the easing of travel restrictions of all kinds. Actually the most hopeful sign in recent months is this recently concluded agreement to ease these travel restrictions. It opens the door only a crack, I know, but beggars cannot be choosers just now. We need to be grateful for any sign of easement of tension. This is a MUST because the only alternative is an immediate speed-up in the forces that make for conflict.

3) We should persist and broaden the scope of our aid to underdeveloped areas of the world—and we should do this w out regard for whether they beco staunch military allies. The program sho be need-centered, not self-centered. W Senator Ellender argued that we h thrown away fifty billions in foreign over the last fifteen years because money has not purchased allies, he did answer the primary question: Did money actually help to meet concrete ne that otherwise would not have been m Any balance sheet I have seen of w done indicates that great good has b accomplished by that money.

4) We must call for an immediate rev of the Disarmament Commission of UN and a friendly approach to every gestion that looks toward an easing of sion in Europe. Regardless of the polit reaction here to the Kennan proposal a withdrawal of troops from Europe, plain fact seems to be that it was and tinues to be well received in Europe. British Labor Party has endorsed it effect, and the w spread support give in Germany and Fra cannot be igno Actually the only jection to it here yet, is that it ign the "realities of p er politics"—a c which falls flat in face of the response of European c tries. A British leader has said, within week, that it may open up the way f proposal to reunite Germany—an indis able step in the peace of Europe.

I am not now debating the merit these moves; I am insisting that they m be given immediate friendly recogni and support—if ever we are to break pace of the dangerous arms buildup. it be said over and over again unti becomes a refrain we shall never fo that IT IS DISARMAMENT OR RE-ARMAM We run risks in any disarmament, but t are much to be preferred to the c trophic certainty of the arms race itse

The Most We Can Do

Here I speak directly to those who sciously accept and wish to be guide

Christian commitment. What I shall will make little sense to one who does believe that love is the most powerful ce on earth, that we are called to make bvious, and that we must do so at once l in terms of the issues at hand. I do not an that all who accept this commitment bound to agree with what I shall say. t there will be no disagreement among on much of it.

First and foremost, we must be willing assume full personal responsibility for t commitment. We must "get in there l pitch." We must be eager and willing stand up and be counted among those o are trying to make a Christian ap- ach to these matters. This means a num- of positive things: 1) the area of our ncern will be worldwide; 2) we shall be zealous to further the rights of one man another, no matter who he is or where lives; 3) we shall seek and support only se policies that further the welfare of men; we shall seek to speak not only man but, in all humility, for God as see Him in Jesus Christ.

Lest we shrink from this as an adventure immeasurable conceit, let us recall that t is what the Church has been trying do all through her history. And that is at the Christian has been and is called do. Each one of us must answer for him- . None can answer for another. But each *st* answer. And we must covenant to re- ct the honesty and integrity of those o disagree with us.

t is my calling, my duty, and my privi- e to share with you what the Christian mmitment means to me as I face the blem of finding a Christian alternative annihilation. Let me stand first within circle of my own personal response to Christian commitment, then move into wider circle of the Church's response.

Personally, I must make it clear that as I ieve in the truth of love I disbelieve in l declare war in all its forms to be un- ristian both in intention and execution. erefore, I commit myself to unrelenting position to the things that make for war erever they may be found, whether in blindness and ignorance of peoples ut each other, or in low standards of ng, or in political oppression, or in eco- nic backwardness, or in any form of injustice. These cannot be accepted or tolerated. They must be fought with every weapon at the disposal of one who believes in the truth and the power of love. One who approaches them in this spirit is not weaponless, though no sword is in his hand and no hate is in his heart. It has been done, it can be done, and it must be done.

The Quakers have done it for three hundred years. Martin Luther King and Martin Niemöller are doing it now. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is composed of thousands of persons all over the world who are bound together for this purpose.

"Here I Stand"

In no case is this simply a folding of the hands and a lying-down while the juggernaut of injustice crushes us and other innocent peoples. It is an open declaration of war on war as the most monstrous deceiver and liar ever let loose in human history—promising life but bringing death, promising freedom but bringing more war, always more war, promising the unity of all men in justice but opening up chasms of hate and evil among us that we are not able easily to close—and having opened them, to offer its services as a defense against those "on the other side." War breeds war—that is precisely the teaching of history about it and its promises.

As I have worked against the things that make for war over the long hard years that preceded its outbreak, both when this happened in 1941 and if it should come again, I will, in full consistency, claim the status of conscientious objector for reasons of Christian faith.

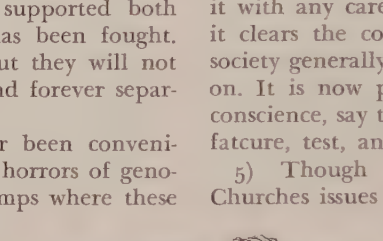
What do I hope to accomplish by this? you ask. And I must reply that I hope to make my Christian witness as clear, as forthright, and as decisive a factor as one man can make it. Believe me, I have faced most of the problems that are in your mind, and I will not pretend that I have pat solutions for them, but I will say in all candor that I much prefer to wrestle with the problems forced upon me by this commitment than with those that were mine before I made it. I know how Luther felt, though for a different reason, when he said, "Here I stand. God helping me, I can do no other."

Having declared myself, I have a right, a moral right, to put the question to you: If you won't stand there, where will you stand? What do you propose to do that is more than that recommended by those who are not under the Christian commitment?

I could wish and will work as hard as I can for some clarification of the position of the Christian Church on these matters. I am sick at heart over the equivocations that have characterized her thought and actions. As I look through the waxworks of horror called modern history, I find much in the Church's record to make us ashamed. Look at it for a moment:

1) The churches have supported both sides of every war that has been fought. They may deplore war, but they will not renounce it and openly and forever separate themselves from it.

2) Churches have either been conveniently blind or deaf to the horrors of genocide and concentration camps where these have been practiced or have been in existence, and have refused to lead a crusade against them for the evils they are.



3) The Church objected feebly to the indiscriminate bombing of cities practiced in World War II, but never pushed its objections to the status of a sustained public protest. The enthusiasm engendered by these ethical doubts subsided all too quickly. Almost immediately we concluded that we as churchmen had done all we could about this regrettable situation when we cried aloud about our sins and the greater sins of our enemies. Then we lifted pious hands to heaven and asked what else we could do but bomb them into Kingdom Come and for the glory of God and in the name of the Prince of Peace! We may never have put it as crudely as that, but once we opened the door by our indecision, the uninhibited patriotism of the secular leaders rushed through and did the rest with complete brutality.

4) While it is true that the churches were not consulted about the dropping of the atomic bomb prior to the even think we might safely assure civil auth ties that they need not have feared much the reaction of churches to dread fact. After proclaiming our sin the greater sin of our opponents, we w have provided the spiritual rationaliza needed for dropping the bomb; we learned through long experience to be cialists at pouring holy water on un objects.

Several official church commissions— in England and one in this country— after the war and produced what has called "the theology of the bomb." S it with any care and you see at once it clears the conscience of statesmen society generally as to the use of this w on. It is now permitted by the Chris conscience, say these commissions, to m fatcure, test, and use the bomb!

5) Though the World Council Churches issues sharp warnings against continuation of of nuclear weap and the menace war, there has bee effort on the either of the W Council or of its stituent members launch a worldw crusade for ban the manufacture testing of nuc weapons, let alone a separation of Church from war itself.

I want the Church to come clean on matter. I want the Church to frame faith in such clear and forthright te that no one doubts where she stands war and the things that make for wa want her to have done with weasel w with carrying water on both shoulders, saying yes and no at the same time an the same proposition. I want the Ch to speak a firm word about the mea of the Christian commitment in term the problems we face today. It can be d The Quakers and other small chur have done it, and they are showing us way. It is high time we took that way, it points up the only known Christia ternative to annihilation.

Notes on the Nuclear Crisis

BY ALBERT SCHWEITZER

ROM AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT coming from the United States, we read the following: "The present and potential effects heredity from the gradual increase of ioactivity in the air are kept within tolble limits." The meaning of this someat obscure statement is that the number deformed children that will be born as esult of the harm done to the sexual s supposedly will not be large enough justify the stopping of the tests.

The idea of limited nuclear war is a condiction in terms. Each side will use all power at its disposal in an attempt to ihilate the enemy. The United States ense Department has quite recently de-ed that the irradiation of whole areas become a new offensive weapon.

The "clean" hydrogen bomb is intended, elieve, for display case purposes primar—and not for use. The intention seems be to convince people that new nuclear s will be followed by less and less radion and that there is no real argument for discontinuation of the tests.

We must not disregard our responsibility avoiding the possibility that thousands children will be born with the most ous mental and physical defects. It will no excuse for us to say that we did pay enough attention to that danger. ly those who have never been present at birth of a deformed baby, never witsed the whimpering cries of its mother, ld dare to maintain that the present of nuclear tests must be taken. The l-known French biologist and geneticist n Rostand calls the continuation of nuc- tests "the future crime" *(le crime dans enir)*. It is the particular duty of women prevent this sin against the future. It is them to raise their voices against it in a way that they will be heard.

We live at a time when the good faith of ples is doubted more than ever before. pressions putting into doubt the trustthiness of each other are bandied back forth. They are based on what happded in the First World War when the ions experienced dishonesty, injustice and inhumanity from one another. How can a new trust come about?

We cannot continue in a situation of paralyzing mistrust. If we want to work our way out of the desperate situation in which we find ourselves another spirit must enter into the people. It can only come if the awareness of its necessity suffices to give us strength to believe in its coming. We must presuppose the awareness of this need in all the peoples who have suffered along with us. We must approach them in the spirit that we are human beings, all of us, and that we feel ourselves fitted to feel with each other; to think and to will together in the same way.

The awareness that we are all human beings together has become lost in war and through politics. We have reached the point of regarding each other as only members of a people who is allied with us or against us, and our approach, prejudice, sympathy or antipathy is all conditioned by that. Now we must discover the fact that we—all together—are human beings, and that we must strive to concede to each other what moral capacity we have.

That way we can begin to believe that also in other peoples there will arise the need for a new spirit, and that can be the beginning of a feeling of mutual trustworthiness towards each other. The spirit is a mighty force for transforming things. We have seen it work as the spirit of evil which virtually threw us back from striving towards a culture of the spirit into barbarism. Now let us place our hopes that the spirit can bring people and lands back to an awareness of culture.

At this stage we have the choice of two risks; the one consists in continuing the mad atomic arms race with its danger of an unavoidable atomic war in the near future; the other in the renunciation of nuclear weapons, and in the hope that America and the Soviet Union and the peoples associated with them will manage to live in peace.

The first holds no hope of a prosperous future; the second does. We must risk the second.

potpourri

Impressions of the 1958 French FOR Conference

CATCHING A GLIMPSE of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in France is like seeing signs of spring after a long winter! So it seemed to me on the weekend of the Annual Conference of the *Branche Française du Mouvement International de la Réconciliation* in mid-February, 1958. The meeting was held at the International FOR Headquarters, *La Maison de la Réconciliation,* in Versailles. To this conference came some 365 persons, including laymen, pastors, priests and theological students. Strong delegations came from Belgium, Italy, Switzerland and Germany, and they voiced the desire of their own national FOR groups to have closer relations with the French pacifist movement. Several Americans, Quakers and Mennonites, attended the conference also. (To an American the variety of beards present added something unique and different!)

It was a heart-warming experience to see in action some of the seasoned French pacifists whom we in the United States have come to know through visits or through write-ups in FELLOWSHIP. It was even more encouraging to realize vividly that these are only a few of the growing number of able FOR members in France.

The Conference theme, *Défense de la Liberté,* was no academic topic for the three days of sessions; rather it was the focus of an intense examination of many areas in order to find where responsible action had or had not been taken, and to decide where and how it needed to be taken. The limitations on *liberté* set by French law were skillfully presented by Robert Charlier, Professor of Law at the Sorbonne and a specialist in this field. At present there is no alternative but prison for COs in France, Italy, Switzerland or Belgium. Some creative efforts are being made, however, to offer an alternat Danilo Dolci brought the story of his n violent action program in Sicily and hopes for the future. A German pastor g us insight into the basis of his actions ing Nazi times. André Trocmé, Secre of the International FOR, highlighted us his trip through the United States fall, presenting the American struggle freedom especially in Montgomery, bama, and Little Rock, Arkansas.

Much was said about Algeria, not o of the efforts to build bridges of crea understanding but also the important dangerous task of publishing in France facts about the horrible atrocities be committed by the French Army in Alge This is very pressing, for the French pe need to know the truth about what is be done, in their name, in Algeria.

Henri Roser, President of the Fre FOR, chaired most of the meetings wit master hand, showing his profound res for the contribution of each person. Ma Trocmé (what a dynamo!) played m parts as interpreter, secretary, and coo nator for the household. One couldn't h but be struck by the remarkable atmosph of genuine respect and trust between testants and Catholics present, the re being that the objectives of the confere were always clearly in focus.

I cannot close this brief impression the French FOR Conference without say a word about the outstanding way in wh we were cared for in body as well as spirit! The staff of the *Maison de la conciliation,* including two retired sch teachers, exhibited a degree of skill devotion to the FOR that produced miracle of feeding and housing us all, though the "Mill of Peace" almost b its seams in the process!—MARIAN D. Fu

A Meeting of Political and Social Minds

IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE early in April to attend the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science as the delegate of the FOR. Various other pacifist groups regularly send delegates, this seems to have been the first time the FOR has done so. This year's mee was on "Asia and World Leadership,"

listened to eloquent people from ma, Ceylon, Korea and other countries. OR members, if they want good new munition to use in the fight for the ds of men, had better send $2 to the demy's office at 3937 Chestnut Street in ladelphia for a copy of the issue of the *nals* containing the full text of all the ers given.

ne meets all sorts of people. At one nt I talked with a delegate from U.S. Army about just what would con- ute the kind of evidence of good faith ch might open the way to fruitful ne- iations with the Russians. A good deal what was said by the various speakers what we all have been saying to each er, and to anyone who would listen, for nsiderable time. But these representa- s of the different Asian nations were ng them with a freshness and an im- liacy which made them sound better n ever. That is why I urge anyone who nts to understand the world better, to k more intelligently for a way out of problems, and to communicate effec- ly with people who are searching for same things in different ways, to read se speeches and get a new perspective a number of telling new arguments utifully expressed. Listening to the tleman from Ceylon alone was worth price of admission. He showed us to selves in a way that should make us nble. Then of course, to give us a diff- nt perspective, there was the speaker n the fine old Philadelphia Quaker ne who classifies pacifists with other un- rable left-wing groups (or words to that ct) and builds a complete military myth n series of non-sequiturs. Example: After Russians had developed their own atom nb, a stalemate ensued, *because* the Sov- now knew that if they attacked us, we e in a position to annihilate them in rn!

has been a reproach to pacifists that have not concerned themselves enough the real and tough problems with ch the statesmen are contending every but have sat theorizing in a cloud of l intentions insufficiently related to s. Meetings like this one are a salutary ective for this kind of thing. They also g encouragement, because it *is* encour- aging to hear one's own feeble arguments come back to one so loud, so well-phrased and applauded by such extremely intelli- gent people. —Norma Jacobs

THE FALLACY OF THE DETERRENT

(Continued from Page 8)

in its search for speed and efficiency, to become its master. Let me quote an example. The operative document which persuaded the German government to invade Belgium in 1914 was a memorandum presented by the German General Staff on July 29. This pointed out, in the strongest terms, the disastrous consequences of a European conflict. Such a war, wrote the generals, "will annihilate for decades the civilization of almost all Europe." Nevertheless, they argued, the Russian mobilization would, for purely mechanical reasons, lead to a progressive, mathematical increase of the military odds against Germany with every day that passed; therefore an early German declaration of war was vital. In short, Germany entered the war not for any long-term political aims, but because of short-term military factors which sprang directly from the policy of "instant readiness."

The Russians, too, were the slaves of their war machine. The essence of the deterrent was the capacity to mobilize swiftly. But the physical process of Russian mobilization made it inevitable that, within a week of the decree being published, Russian troops would cross the German frontier. Either the deterrent worked within the first two days, or it would not work at all. For troops would begin to reach the forward railheads from the first day; they would then pile up in ever-increasing numbers. If the frontier was not crossed, the organizational structure of the entire army would become confused, there would be simply no place to put the troops, and Russian war plans would be revealed. Hence, there was no alternative but to cross the frontier. It is difficult to think of a better example of purely military factors dictating issues of peace or war.

Today, we are faced with a situation which is basically similar. The Strategic Air Command is a world-wide force of

3,000 heavy bombers and fleets of tanker planes. Each squadron has its allotted targets and timetables of attack; but the entire operation is coordinated down to the last bomb and second. Once the alarm is given, the machine itself takes control—as it must—and the sequence of events flows inexorably without any politician's hand to control it. On November 2, 1956, at the height of the Suez crisis, the National Security Council in Washington—the ultimate controlling authority of the western deterrent—met in emergency session. The day before, Marshal Bulganin had launched a virtual ultimatum against Britain and France. Throughout the night, intelligence reports had indicated Soviet military overflights in Turkey and Persia. Mr. Dulles wished to respond to these moves by allerting SAC and deploying its squadrons in a manner which would provide "ocular evidence" of America's will to resist. But the air force chiefs explained that such an action would be tantamount to war; that the size and nature of SAC meant that it could not get all its aircraft airborne, and begin the complex process of aerial refueling, without revealing to the enemy its axes of attack, knowledge of which would undermine the deterrent, *unless it was really intended to use it this time*. Moreover, they added, once it became clear that SAC was getting into position, the Russians would be bound to do the same, and then a conflict would become virtually inevitable.

Fortunately, while the Council was still sitting, further intelligence reports revealed that there was no radar evidence of Soviet overflights. The crisis passed: but it revealed the fatal lack of flexibility of the deterrent. Since then the SAC commanders have attempted to devise a system of permanent semi-mobilization—of which the H-bomb patrols are one aspect—which will make SAC an effective instrument of fear, without allowing it to glide over into the abyss and become an instrument of provocation. They are unlikely to succeed. The Russians, confronted with precisely the same problem in the years before 1914, also devised a system of "semi-mobilization" which, they calculated, would frighten their enemies without provoking them. As we have seen, it was a disastrous failure.

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS
FROM: BILL MILLER

Kit—We had some trouble with the name, but finally settled on Nuclear Test Action Kit. No, it doesn't contain a pocket cyclotron or anything like that. This is for folks who want to get rid of nuclear weapons. And the testing of same. We thought of calling it a Nuclear Detergent Kit, with the idea that—but. . . . You see how it goes. Anyway, here's what's in the kit:

1. **Effects of Radiation and Fallout** by James F Crow (28 pp.)
2. **Summary-Analysis of Hearings on the Nature of Radioactive Fallout and Its Effects on Man** Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, U. S Congress, 1957 (19 pp.)
3. **Atomic Tests and Disarmament**, statements o CCIA and World Council of Churches (8 pp.)
4. Set of six Survival Leaflets
5. Statement of 18 German physicists barrin work on nuclear weapons
6. Five sheets of program suggestions, plus lis of resources for the anti-test campaign
7. Copies of AFSC and National Committee fo a Sane Nuclear Policy advertisements
8. Sample advertisements for insertion in loca newspapers
9. "STOP H-BOMB TESTS NOW!" sticker
10. Miscellaneous reprints and flyers, includin statements by Lewis Mumford, Albert S. Bige low (skipper of **Golden Rule**), Norman Cous ins, etc.

The whole bulging packet is available for only a dollar from your local de contamination center. If there is no de contamination center where you live there will be when you receive your Nuclear Test Action Kit.

Kaboodle—That's the kit; now here's the kaboodle: While you're scrounging up the dollar for the kit, why not send along an additional three dollars to introduce your local library to the news and views of peace that make *Fellowship* worth reading 24 times a year?

There are worse ways for you to spend your money. If you start with the current issues, we'll cudgel our brains to try and match its quality for the rest of the year.

See you in September. Peace!

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Nyack, New York

Society and Its Black Sheep

HE OFFENDERS by Giles Playfair and rick Sington. Simon and Schuster, 1957. pp., $3.95.

EFLECTIONS ON HANGING by Arthur stler. Macmillan, 1957. 231 pp., $4.50.

'AS JUSTICE DONE? by Malcolm P. Sharp. nthly Review Press, 1956. 216 pp., $3.50.

HE QUARE FELLOW by Brendan Behan. ve Press, 1956. 86 pp., (paperback), 5.

enocide, the H-bomb and neo-orthodox logians notwithstanding, there are e evidences of increasing sensitivity to whole matter of the infliction of human ering. One item of that evidence is the ving library of conscientious protest nst various forms of punitive penology, particularly against the whole system apital punishment. Of the four books d here, all, for their own reasons, are worth reading.

Messrs. Playfair and Sington have done ost valuable job in examining, via six histories, not only capital punishment the whole concept of punishment used means of deterrence. Pacifists who see rly the weaknesses of deterrence as a ns of preventing war, should be equal- ell-equipped to disprove its validity in field of crime. The authors of *The nders* supply formidable evidence for task.

rthur Koestler's book suffers somewhat American readers from its identity with British scene, which in these matters rs radically from our own. At the same *Reflections on Hanging* includes a t deal of valuable historical material, vell as the strength of Koestler's own ionate conviction that legalized murder rong. Some of the descriptions of pub- hangings as recently as a century ago, the dreadful debaucheries that they ased in the public, will suggest to the ghtful reader what kind of private tional responses occur to the more gen- y hidden executions of our day. A face for Americans" by Prof. Edmond n, and a series of appendices, add to worth of the book.

rofessor Sharp's book, *Was Justice e?*, is another examination of the

BOOKS

Rosenberg case, and consequently difficult to evaluate by the non-professional. The author is a lawyer of standing, a professor at the University of Chicago, who came into the Rosenberg case toward its end. For the layman, his book conveys the impression of a thoughtful, dispassionate review of a case that has disturbed the consciences of many good Americans. His comments will reinforce their conviction that the execution of the Rosenbergs, whether guilty or not, remains a major blot on the American record. It will serve also to bolster the efforts of those who believe that the 30-year sentence for Morton Sobell was excessive, and based on questionable evidence. Atomic physicist Harold Urey contributes an introduction.

The Quare Fellow is very different from the other three. It is a play first produced in London in 1956 by the Theatre Workshop, and published in this country as one of Grove's Evergreen Books. The scene is the yard of an Ulster prison, and the dialog is the rough, ribald conversation of prisoners and guards in the hours preceding the execution of "the quare fellow." While the American reader will have a few difficulties with the brogue, the power of the lines will come through and reveal again the essential bestiality of capital punishment. —A.H.

The Ethics of "Realism"

ETHICS AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY by Ernest W. Lefever. Introduction by Hans J. Morgenthau. Meridian Books, 1958. 196 pp., paperback, $1.25.

Former pacifist but now a "morally concerned realist," Ernest Lefever has written a clear and highly useful book on the dynamics of United States foreign policy. Its concern is with the "givenness" of power and the dilemmas it poses for those who seek to act under the claims of Judeo-Christian ethics.

One of the chief virtues of the book is the lucid style and clear exposition with which it sets forth the basics of U. S. foreign policy. It is the veriest truism that religious thinkers and leaders have often glossed over

the realities of power and the recalcitrance of human nature. Lefever offers a strong antidote to such thinking. In particular his analysis of the role of the United Nations within the present framework of international politics poses hard questions for advocates of the U.N. as the "key to peace."

However, those who invoke the name "realist" often have their own peculiar temptations. In their eagerness to avoid being called "soft idealists" they gloss over the "hard realities" of Western policy.

For example, Lefever says "old-fashioned Western colonialism has disappeared." This will come as welcome news to the people of Portuguese Angola and British Kenya who live daily under a vivid illusion of colonialism of a rather old-fashioned variety. While Soviet imperialism is rightfully delineated, there is no discussion or even mention of the new-fashioned military imperialism of the West, such as in Okinawa.

The term "free world" is given a curious definition. To quote: "The term 'free world' does not mean that all nations in the Western coalition have free and democratic governments, although many of them do. It means rather that these nations are free from external domination." Even if one could be so sanguine about some of the nations in Central America or the Middle East considered in the Western coalition, the same definition would make the Soviet Union a member of the free world!

Lefever questions the familiar statement that neither side could "win" in a major conflict. Admitting there would be vast destruction on both sides, he nevertheless says "the victor would be in a position to dominate the vanquished" and adds "this fact has both moral and political significance." He contends the moral and political differences in the two camps would persist into the postwar world and be significant "even if these policies were directed from and toward mere fragments of the civilization we now know." Leaving aside the moral question of waging genocide on other nations, such a view has simply not come to terms with the revolution in military technology. Let him who claims the word realism be doubly wary lest he harbor his own fantasies and illusions about the demonic forces loose in our midst.

—Charles C. Walker

Godman and Agape

Christ and the Christian by Nels F Ferré. Harper, 1958. 253 pp., $3.75.

Perhaps the crucial truth upon which pacifists must ultimately base their fait that God is love. We say it or imply it o enough, and some of us may have the cl ness of vision to experience the full m ing and implications of this truth, but well do we understand it?

Theologically, the task is a formid one, requiring some of the best think of a scholar well-versed in the controver that have surrounded it in the many ologies that have been offered, from Early Fathers down to Brunner, Ba Tillich and others. In *Christ and the C tian*, however, FOR member Nels F Ferré has met the challenge with an as and inspired analysis that draws upon amazing store of close acquaintance the views of classical and contempo theologians.

Handling his resources with scrupul care, Ferré develops the thesis that Go *Agape* and that Jesus Christ, as the div incarnation of God within a being who in every respect fully human, stands as central meaning-event of history. From understanding, such doctrines as the carnation and the atonement become vested with new dimensions of mean that have vital significance for tod Christian, and surely not a few readers find new insights in what Ferré has to about the virgin birth. The central cern, however, is with the identity of J as a man and of the Christ as creator consummator.

Christ and the Christian is a book rich to lend itself to easy summary, some of its impact may be gathered f these truncated quotes: "Jesus is the hu being who first conclusively fulfills the ditions of humanity, namely, to be org cally united to God and fulfilled by coinherence of God. Jesus lived love; is love and has made men for love." "W we are rooted and grounded in love Christ dwells in our heart by faith, t we, too, can expect to become filled all the fullness of God." "The only m bers of the true Church are those know and live the Agape life. They

feel superior or judge others." "Actual
rches,' or their members, no matter
high their profession, may be far from
Center," *i.e.*, Christ the Center of his-
. Whatever disagreement one may find
veen certain of Ferré's concepts and
's own (this reviewer would differ with
é's confident belief in a life after death,
instance), they are vastly overshadowed
he underlying value of the book. It is
very sense a major contribution to the
directed understanding and faith that
implicit in Christianity. —W.R.M.

The Feel of Fallout

E VOYAGE OF THE LUCKY DRAGON by
ph E. Lapp. Harper, 1958. 200 pp.,
o.

is a curious and, for pacifists, a signifi-
fact that most men can contemplate
wiping out of a million of their fel-
s—possibly including themselves—with
e equanimity than they can consider
suffering of a single victim. There is
ething about large numbers that deper-
lizes the individuals they represent, so
the horror, instead of multiplying as
toll of the new weapons rises, becomes
ted and weak. This does not reflect, as
e observers maintain, a growing insen-
ity to suffering so much as it does a
ire of the imagination to translate the
stics into human flesh and blood. It
omes necessary, for those who hope to
en the consciences of their fellows to
evil of war, to point the small end of
telescope at the target city, so that the
er may see the scarred and battered
d so like his own, instead of the miles of
tered and smoking piles of rubble.
he *Voyage of the Lucky Dragon* is the
l end of the telescope, skillfully held by
icist-turned-writer Ralph Lapp so that
an see for ourselves what it is like to
Japanese fisherman, and what hap-
ed to twenty-three particular fishermen
n their boat, the *Lucky Dragon,* was
ed with radioactive ashes from an
rican H-bomb test on March 1, 1954.
is an eminently readable book, the
st, simply told story of a few human
gs caught and swirled about in im-
se forces they do not understand. For
most of those who read it, it will be a damning book, too, for it will bring to life for them the appealing personality of radioman Kuboyama, in whose murder they had a part. —A.H.

pamphlet reviews

• *Nuclear Knowledge and Christian Responsibilities* by C. A. Coulson. 16 pp., 25¢. London: The Epworth Press. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

The prospects and perils of taming the atom are discussed by British FOR member C. A. Coulson, Professor of Mathematics at Oxford University and Fellow of the Royal Society. Aware of the dangers, Prof. Coulson is nevertheless excited at the opportunities before us. Preoccupation with the threat of thermonuclear war, damage from nuclear tests and the hazards of disposing atomic wastes has almost eclipsed the vision of great human advances in medicine and the uses of atomic energy. Christian young people in particular will be helped in considering their future in the nuclear age if they sense from Professor Coulson the responsibility not only to face the dangers realistically but also to respond imaginatively to the great promise in the atom's potential for human betterment.

• *Man and the Atom* by Max Born. 12 pp., 20¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

A Nobel Prizewinning physicist examines the tragic use of nuclear power for destruction and utters a prophetic warning based on scientific knowledge of the consequences that would ensue from continued tests or nuclear warfare. The central problem is "collective guilt, the decay of our ethical consciousness, for which we are all to blame, myself included." Dr. Born calls for less cleverness and more wisdom, sidesteps the illusions of power politics and insists on nothing less than "the renunciation of force in the pursuit of political aims" as the only way out of the nuclear arms deadlock.

• *All Children Pray,* compiled by Julia Phillips Ruopp. 28 pp. Order from: The Children's Plea For Peace, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minn.

A collection of children's prayers that speaks eloquently for the oneness of the human family. Each prayer is taken from a different land or religion, yet each could be said by any child, of any faith, anywhere in the world. An excellent text for home or Sunday School use and wherever children are at prayer.

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

The Force of Law vs. the Law of Force

Dear Editors:

As a member of United World Federalists, Inc., I was keenly interested in your symposium on the proposal for a permanent United Nations Police Force, ("World Police," March FELLOWSHIP), particularly in view of the fact that UWF drafted the resoluton, recently passed by the United States Senate favoring such a force.

As pacifists, we are prone to discard proposals which do not embody the principles of pacifism, notwithstanding their merits from other points of view. Consequently, the four writers were more critical of the United Nations Emergency Force for what it is not, than for what it is and can be.

The UNEF, born of the Suez crisis, was an historic experiment in international relations, and, within the present limitations of the UN, has achieved every end for which it was conceived.

As both pacifist and federalist, I offer the following as our basic needs: First, to substitute the force of law for the law of force. and hold the welfare of the human community above the selfish ends of any group or nation; second, to realize that all our debates and endeavors are meaningless unless we tap the power of love, which is not only the supreme force, but the supreme law.

CHARLES F. FOX
Detroit, Michigan

An Afterthought on Little Rock

Dear Editors:

In one of your editorials you suggested that the President instead of sending troops to Little Rock should have gone himself and personally led those Negro children to school. I wonder how many of your readers pictured the worldwide reaction that would have ensued. To literally millions of people in Asia and Africa as well as here in America it would have been the most God-like act of a decade. I speak of it often to friends; nearly always the reply is, "Why didn't someone think of that in time." Last night I was speaking of it with a Northern couple recently living in Mississippi. Their nine-year-old son fairly leaped out of his chair, his whole face aglow: "Oh, is it too late yet to do that?"

Without some such act, force was perhaps necessary. As we all can see, it solved no problems. Yet here was a simple personal act of love and justice that would have gone very far to bring out in people throughout the South all their better feelings. It would have taken courage. It could hardly fail. From the standpoint of selfish politics it would have been tremendous. Yet apparently no one in the Administration thought of it.

We need training in thinking quickly in emergencies of constructive alternatives. Recently I saw a foster parent pull back and quite severely spank a four-year-old about to run into the street from between parked cars. Inquiry revealed that the child had been repeatedly warned. And this time the foster parent was himself genuinely alarmed, for a car was actually coming.

The alternative did not occur to him of gathering the child in his arms with an expression of his own loving concern: "Oh, Danny, don't you see how near you were to being struck by that car."

This foster father saw this point quite readily—but only after the fact. He needs training of the *imagination* so that he can think quickly of the way of love instead of the way of coercion. Do we not all? FELLOWSHIP apparently did not think of loving action for Little Rock until after the troops moved in.

HORACE B. ENG
Columbus, Ohio

A Plea for Sobell

Dear Editors:

As the wife of Morton Sobell I have a most secure and complete knowledge of my husband's innocence. I therefore do not have to weigh the charges and counter-charges which are made with respect to the case called by the Columbia Law Review "the outstanding 'political' case of our generation." Of course others sincerely interested in determining the facts cannot have this assurance. as Mr. Swingley's letter in your January issue shows.

Throughout the eight years of my husband's imprisonment more and more thinking people have expressed themselves in support of a new trial or freedom for my husband. Today the central issue of the case, the stealing of atomic secrets, has been negated by the words of scientists and statesmen, as well as by the Soviet satellites. Nevertheless my husband remains in Alcatraz.

It is our hope that the request we are making at this time will be joined by all men of good will. Even those who have doubts of my husband's innocence or believe that the atmosphere of 1951 did not preclude a fair trial cannot believe that the continuing imprisonment of my husband in Alcatraz is an act of justice or mercy.

If you have a concern for the life of a fellow human being and would like to help please write to me, c/o Sobell Committee, 799 Broadway, New York City.

MRS. MORTON SOBELL
New York, N. Y.

Germany the Key

Dear Editors:

If we want disarmament on a world scale we can, as Americans, help it to begin when

ɔsest to the immediate interests of the peo-
ɔncerned. Central and Eastern Europe is
of the areas that fulfills this qualification.
ɛrmany is the area I have particularly stud-
Let us start, now, from there. To a West
ıan, aiming at peace and unification of
ɔuntry in freedom, the pacifist answer is
ically relevant. More and more opposition
owing to the acceptance of nuclear weap-
ıs a part of NATO. The all-German synod
ıe Protestant Church recently adopted a
ution, with only four abstentions and no
ɔsition, denouncing total war waged with
ɔons of mass destruction. It appealed to
and East German governments not to
p their troops with atomic weapons. The
gn policies of the Social Democratic and
Democratic parties are working toward
position. Increasingly, members of Dr.
ıauer's Christian Democratic Union see
conflict between the desired reunification
rearmament of West and East Germany.
ıe scientists of Germany who refuse to
on atomic weapons are inspiring personal
ls all over the world. Important in the
e picture are Dr. Martin Niemöller, Dr.
egmund-Schultze, Dr. Heinz Kloppenburg,
ɔr Wilhelm Mensching and *Freundschafts-*
, the international peace education cen-
ust to mention a few of our German FOR
ds.

e can work with our German friends both
ur opposition to nuclear weapons and in
thinking and action in the political field.
ɔday, American FOR members, whose her-
includes devotion to "government of the
le, by the people, and for the people,"
work positively for a change in United
s foreign policy so that a proposal can
ɛe for a disarmed Central and Eastern
ɔpe, including a free, unified, and essen-
unarmed Germany. This proposal would
ɛspond to the known will of the people in
gary and Germany and most probably to
in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other So-
satellites as well. We have often spoken
country for German reunification but have
ɛ presented a reasonable plan to bring it
t.

pacifists and citizens we have the oppor-
tunity and responsibility to know the facts. To enrich our backgrounds James P. Warburg's *Agenda for Action: Toward Peace Through Disengagement* and *Germany: Key to Peace* are excellent. George F. Kennan's *Russia, The Atom, and the West,* Walter Lippmann's article in the April *Atlantic* and other writings, plus the enlightened consideration of military disengagement in Europe going on the last months in the *New Republic* and the *New Leader,* particularly, bring us up to date. We need to think through the present situation, and suggest action for a creative United States foreign policy to help toward the world of peace and freedom we want. I should be delighted to hear from all readers who have an interest in these ideas. By sharing our concern we can be more effective.

RUTH NEUENDORFFER
North Tarrytown, N. Y.

Voices of Appreciation

Dear Editors:

Let me thank you for the excellent job you are doing in producing FELLOWSHIP. This has always been an outstanding magazine and now the new format presents a pacifist witness in a quality manner. The appearance is snappy, eye-appealing and up-to-date; there's nothing antique about this magazine! The Peace Information Editions keep us posted on current events. And the bi-monthly issues are excellent.

Thank you for all that you are doing to bring out this wonderful magazine. This note is just to add one more voice of appreciation for your job well done. JOHN BUTCHER
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Editors:

I cannot restrain myself from writing a note of appreciation for the gigantic improvement in our reconciliation magazine, FELLOWSHIP! If the voices of reconciliation are not being heard, it is not the fault of poor publication technique on the part of the FELLOWSHIP staff. The format is very appealing, the printing very readable, and the articles are of central relevance and provocative.

Reading FELLOWSHIP helps me feel there may still be signs of hope in this century of despair. MARVIN EVERS
Brighton, Mass.

ADVERTISEMENTS

ISTIAN SCIENTISTS interested in consid-
a nonviolent, primitive Christian approach
ıe problem of world peace are invited to
e for information on The Peace Association
hristian Scientists to Byron Belden, P.O.
625, Guymon, Oklahoma. (This is an inter-
ɔnal association for the promotion and ex-
on of a Christianly Scientific peace, the
bers of which refrain from participation in
It functions as a private enterprise and not
ı agency of the Christian Science Church.)

ANT: House at Brotherhood Community,
iry community in N. E. Pennsylvania. For
culars write: Richard Fichter, Springville,

CE LIBRARY. Don't discard circulars,
ɔuncements, pamphlets issued by peace
ps in your city. Send them to A. Bofman,
S. May, Chicago 21, Illinois.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP *at least two months in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to:* Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, *Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of* FELLOWSHIP *will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)*

THAT MEN MAY LIVE ... in peace together

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- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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ALL THE WAY HOME

L THE WAY HOME is a new 28-
ute documentary film about the im-
t of racial integration in housing. In
erstandable, human terms, it shows
t happens in a typical suburban com-
nity when a Negro couple comes to
at a house that is for sale. The film
es to grips with such questions as
ic selling and property values, and
lores the human resources that can
ce antagonism in making the transi-
from a racially exclusive community
n integrated one.

TAL: *one showing,* $7.50; *full week,*

CRISIS IN LEVITTOWN is a new 31-minute film made up largely of interviews with residents of Levittown, Pa., a sizable middle-class community that was all-white until one of the residents sold his home to a Negro family. Excellent as a companion to ALL THE WAY HOME, it reveals the fears and prejudices that make integration a problem, and clears up prevalent misconceptions that typically form the basis of rumors about Negroes. Both films together make an excellent double feature.

RENTAL: *one showing,* $7.50; *full week,* $15.

TRA ADDED ATTRACTION—Still going strong is Fellowship Films' widely
ed documentary of the Montgomery story, WALK TO FREEDOM. Shown as an
ed attraction to the above double feature, it will round out the story of the
ggle for human rights and make your evening of film viewing complete. As part
program or by itself, WALK TO FREEDOM has a perennial appeal for people
believe in human dignity, and is a vivid portrayal of what ordinary people can
when they join together with reverent courage to seek justice through non-
ent group action.

TAL: *one showing,* $5; *full week,* $15—PRICE: $100.

these 16-mm., black-and-white sound films are obtainable from:

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LMS FOR PEACE

FOR

Box 271, Nyack, New York

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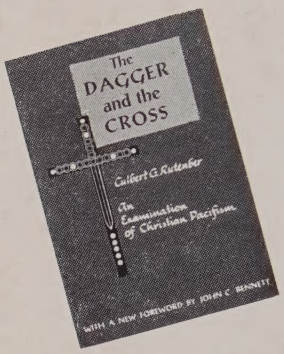

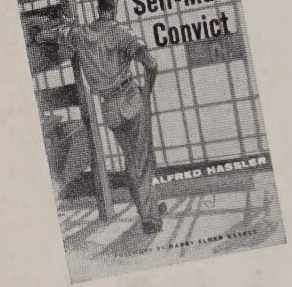

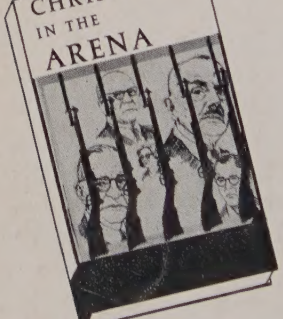

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